

FBIS

DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 006

9 January 1985

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Strougal Addresses CEMA Planning Session Opening
[Prague] AA 1

BULGARIA

Mladenov Reviews International Scene; Views 1985 C 1
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 6 Jan]
'Positive Trend' in Sino-Soviet Relations Viewed C 3
[Ivandzhiski in RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Jan]
Algerian Prime Minister's Visit Continues C 4
Brahimi, Filipov Visit Plants C 4
Zhivkov Receives Brahimi C 4
BCP CC Greet Syrian Ba'th Party Conference C 5
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 6 Jan]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Shultz-Gromyko Talks Viewed Positively D 1
Substantial Differences Exist D 1
First Meetings Very 'Intense' D 1
U.S. Reaction Assessed D 1
Chnoupek Interviewed on International Relations D 2
[TRYBUNA LUDU 1,3 Jan]
Chnoupek Interviewed on East-West Relations D 9
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Jan]
Mother Theresa Discusses Settling Nuns in Brno D 10
[UJ EMBER 16 Dec]
Leaders Send Greetings to PRK on Anniversary D 11
Husak, Strougal to Heng Samrin D 11
Indra, Chnoupek to Counterparts D 11

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ADN Details Economic Productivity Gains E 1
Space Weapons 'Critical' to Geneva Talks [Leuschner] E 2
Daily Cites Chernenko Warning on Space Weapons E 4
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 7 Jan]
Hoffmann Addresses Reception for Military Envoys E 4
Rally Planned to Commemorate Rosa Luxemburg E 5
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5-6 Jan]
Honecker Congratulates Swedish Left Party Leader E 5
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5-6 Jan]

HUNGARY

U.S.-USSR Communique on Arms Talks Reviewed F 1
Finance Minister Holds Moscow Talks, Returns F 1
Nemeth Assesses Political, Economic Situation F 2
[NEPSZABADSAG 24 Dec]

POLAND

Testimony Continues in Popieluszko Trial	G 1
Chmielewski Retracts Statements [DPA]	G 1
Piotrowski on Motive, Events	G 1
Warsaw Views U.S.-Soviet Arms Talks in Geneva	G 7
Urban Remarks on U.S. Policy, Domestic Events	G 7
U.S. Statement Criticized	G 10
Jaruzelski, USSR's Kulikov Discuss Pact Defense	G 10
Food Price Proposals Raise Questions Among Public	G 10
Trade Protocol Signed With Bulgaria 8 January	G 11
Briefs: Truck Agreement With PRC	G 11

ROMANIA

Leaders Celebrate Elena Ceaurescu's Birthday	H 1
--	-----

YUGOSLAVIA

Conspiracy Trial Continues in Belgrade	I 1
FEC Vice President on Political System Changes [POLITIKA 31 Dec-2 Jan]	I 1
BORBA Attacks 'Legalization' of Opposition [Istuk, 29-30 Dec]	I 2

STROUGAL ADDRESSES CEMA PLANNING SESSION OPENING

LD081327 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal made a speech at the beginning of the 34th session of the CEMA committee for planning cooperation, which opened today in Prague.

He welcomed the participants on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, President of the Republic Gustav Husak, and the federal government. He noted that the committee's session is taking place at the beginning of an important anniversary year, 1985, and immediately after the supreme party bodies and governments of the CEMA member states approved the plans for the last year of the current 5-year plans and are entering the final stage of coordinating their national economic plans for 1986-90.

This year, Comrade Lubomir Strougal continued, all our fraternal countries are striving to build successfully on the existing positive results, particularly the increased dynamics of growth which the entire community has seen in 1983 and 1984. There is also full agreement that in the interests of speeding up the process of intensification, we intend to make full use of opportunities for mutual interaction of our states aimed at implementing the strategic aims of socialist economic integration adopted at the CEMA economic summit. We endorse these aims in their entirety and have a clear interest in their speedy and comprehensive implementation, said Comrade Lubomir Strougal.

He went on to point out that the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in December, and the Federal Government, approved the Czechoslovak economic plan this year, which also incorporates binding tasks of cooperation with the other CEMA member states.

The basic direction of our economy and of the entire community -- that of intensive development and greater socialist integration -- will remain valid for the next 5-year plan and in the long-term. I think you will share my view, Comrade Lubomir Strougal said at the start of the 34th session of the CEMA committee for planning cooperation, that as far as planning cooperation is concerned, we have accumulated a wealth of experience in past years. The forms and method of our work have been instrumental in attaining a series of positive results, especially in the extraction and processing of fuels and raw materials, and in the development of energy. However, coordination of our approach in the processing industry, particularly in engineering and the chemical industry, is not yet fully satisfactory. After all, it is precisely in these sectors that the rate of general intensification, as well as increased labor productivity and the general technical and economic standard of production and products, is decided. Last but not least, our technical and economic independence from capitalist states is crucial in these sectors too. These are precisely the sectors in which we should be implementing as quickly as possible the findings of scientific and technological development, providing effective conditions for optimum production and for ensuring that the needs of our socialist community can be met on a lasting basis.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal said that one of the ways to greater labor productivity and to improving quality and technical levels is to pool resources, particularly in crucial sectors of the processing industry. Great attention, he said, is warranted in strengthening the CEMA member states' technological and economic independence. This is a strategic issue, because our countries are subject to various types of political and economic pressure from the United States and its allies.

We must face this policy of discrimination with a united and coordinated trade and economic policy, and at the same time we must carry measures which have been approved within our own economies, taking into consideration the requirements of the entire socialist community, Comrade Lubomir Strougal said. He went on to note the significance of the fact that the 34th session of the CEMA committee for planning cooperation will discuss further specific measures in manufacturing goods and in organizational matters.

Concluding his speech, he expressed conviction that the committee's session will be imbued with a common desire to successfully settle the matters discussed, and that the specific measures adopted will be a further contribution to implementing the agreed economic strategy of the CEMA states.

MLADENOV REVIEWS INTERNATIONAL SCENE; VIEWS 1985

AU071528 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jan 85 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, in RABOTNICHESKO DELO; date and place not given]

[Text] [RABOTNICHESKO DELO] How would you describe the international situation in 1984 and what are the prospects for 1985 in your opinion?

[Mladenov] In 1984, the view of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was expressed on several occasions, including in the pages of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO, that the international situation is extremely complicated and exacerbated, and at certain moments, even threatens international peace. This evaluation was based on a sober and thorough analysis of the basic political, military, economic, and other factors determining and influencing international relations. The main reason for the existing tension, not only on our continent but throughout the world, was the policy of confrontation pursued by imperialism and aimed at achieving military-strategic superiority over the socialist community countries. Despite the fact that a certain moderation was noticed in 1984 regarding the tone of statements coming from Washington and other Western capitals, it is a fact that precisely during this period a vast program for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles, strategic first-strike weapons, was implemented. I will very briefly repeat what we have declared on several occasions. These actions by the United States and NATO are directed above all against the Warsaw Pact member-countries, but actually, not only against them; they did not lead to a "greater security" for Western Europe, as some people claim. These actions, which represented an unconcealed attempt to disrupt the existing parity, prompted the adoption of certain reciprocal measures, which are appropriate in their nature and extent. They restored the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. I must very strongly stress the three following points: Parity was restored, which proves once and for all that the socialist community countries are strong enough (in all aspects of this concept) not to permit anyone to achieve military superiority over them. Second, parity was restored within a very short time, and I presume that not only the military strategists, but also politicians in the West are clearly aware of the significance of this fact. Third, parity was restored at a higher level -- a fact that means that military confrontation is greater today, and this involves all dangers stemming from this fact, as regards world peace. The responsibility for this falls on the initiators of the new U.S. missile deployment.

In 1984 we occasionally heard at various levels, sometimes even from high places, revanchist insinuations. The spirit of Yalta and the Potsdam agreements were cast in doubt -- even the present political realities existing in Europe were questioned. I will not dwell on this question, I will only take the liberty to say that the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerism is an appropriate opportunity to refresh some memories and reach more realistic conclusions.

The Vienna negotiations continued to stagnate in 1984. No special results were achieved at the UN disarmament conference. Only at the end of 1984 did the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe show any sign of the possibility of progress.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other Warsaw Pact member-countries are convinced that only negotiations can help us out of the situation created in Europe and the world. They should be honest and businesslike negotiations without preconditions, based on the principles of equality and equal security and taking into consideration the interests of all partners.

Certain prerequisites for a dialogue appeared by the end of 1984. The announcement sounded hopeful that, as a result of a new initiative launched by the Soviet Union, Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz will meet in Geneva on 7 and 8 January in order to discuss new negotiations related to problems of disarmament, nuclear arms, and the space weapons, negotiations of new scope and character. If the United States comes to this meeting in a spirit of responsibility and political realism, the chances of strengthening peace are likely to increase. The peoples are entitled to hope that a fresh wind will blow from Geneva. If this should happen, the improved atmosphere will have a beneficial influence in Vienna and Stockholm, as well. If this fresh wind should blow, then the "spirit of Helsinki" will receive a new impetus. This is how we can more gladly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

I will briefly sum up my answer to the second part of your question: The hope for more optimistic prospects as regards the international situation in 1985 exists, but it is a hope combined with a realistic approach.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] How would you describe the trends of the foreign policy conducted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1984 in the joint struggle we are waging with the USSR and the other fraternal countries to save peace?

[Mladenov] This question demands a rather extensive answer, however I will just outline the basic features. You are right in talking about the joint struggle of the socialist community countries. In 1984 the Warsaw Pact continued to promote its joint and coordinated foreign policy. With consistency and a tactful approach, and with the necessary flexibility, basing itself on its principles, this organization continued to work for the implementation of its constructive proposals laid down in the Prague Declaration and in other important documents. Without going into detail, I will stress that certain successes were achieved in this difficult struggle. I have already mentioned the hopeful signals coming from the Stockholm conference. The recently ended 39th UN General Assembly session adopted a number of resolutions submitted by socialist states, or with their participation, and last, but not least, the initiative of the Soviet Union led to the decision to meet in Geneva. All this is quite significant if we take into consideration the rather gloomy background of the general situation on the political scene in 1984. The Warsaw Pact member-countries are resolved to further pursue their active, consistent, peace-loving foreign policy. The forthcoming session of the Political Consultative Committee which is scheduled to take place in our capital in a few days is further confirmation of this.

As for the foreign political activities of our country in particular, I think that we can recall certain facts that speak eloquently for themselves. In 1984 our first party and state leader Comrade Todor Zhivkov held talks with state and government leaders from many socialist, developing, and capitalist countries in Bulgaria and abroad. His meeting with Comrade Konstantin Chernenko in Moscow was of particular importance. We must add to this his talks with foreign ministers and other government members, as well as with outstanding politicians, businessmen, and cultural figures from abroad, and so forth. In all his foreign policy activities Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with his characteristic skill and competence, has consistently defended the stands of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the entire socialist community.

The UN General Assembly adopted four resolutions at Bulgaria's initiative and nearly 30 resolutions in which our country participated as a coauthor. The decision to hold the next UNESCO General Conference in Sofia is of exceptional importance; it is a fact that is accepted as a recognition of our country's increased international prestige.

The persevering work to implement Comrade Todor Zhivkov's idea to adopt specific steps aimed at transforming the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, maintain good-neighborly relations, consolidate peace and security, and develop cooperation in our geographical area, continued in 1984.

Side by side with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member-countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue in 1985 to actively contribute to the noble cause of preserving peace and returning the world to detente.

'POSITIVE TREND' IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS VIEWED

AU071530 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jan 85 p 4

[Krasimir Ivandzhyiski article: "In a Constructive Atmosphere"]

[Text] The talks conducted in Beijing by Ivan Arkhipov, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, as well as his meetings with Zhao Ziyang, State Council premier, and with Yao Yilin, deputy premier, were followed with great attention by political circles worldwide.

Following the conclusion of these talks, Ivan Arkhipov declared that the talks had proceeded in a constructive atmosphere and produced positive results.

The importance of the visit that just ended is determined above all by the fact that this was the highest-level Soviet delegation in the last 15 years following Aleksey Kosygin's visit in 1969. This visit must be discussed in the context of the regular Soviet-Chinese political consultations, conducted in the last 3 years, at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs and in the context of the meeting between Andrey Gromyko and his Chinese colleague, which took place during the last UN General Assembly session.

Against this background the just concluded visit is a new confirmation of the USSR's persistent striving for an intensification of mutual confidence and friendship with the Chinese people, and for the consolidation of peace in Asia and the Far East. This visit is a confirmation of the words expressed by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, that "the door for constructive negotiations with China is always open."

The positive trend noticed today is expressed also in the recent systematic increase in the foreign trade volume between the two neighboring countries. This volume is expected to reach \$1.4 billion in 1985, an increase of 36 percent over 1984. It is, however, already known that this volume will be considerably exceeded and that the mutual trade will presumably exceed \$1.8 billion in 1985.

The Chinese side is interested in purchases of investment equipment and in the participation of Soviet specialists in the modernization of approximately 200 industrial plants and enterprises built in the PRC with the assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union during the fifties.

During Ivan Arkhipov's visit the contractual basis of this intensification of bilateral economic relations was also considerably expanded. The two sides agreed to sign in Moscow during the first half of 1985 long-term agreements on economic and scientific-technological cooperation. An expansion of the cultural and tourist exchange is also envisaged.

The regular consultations between the USSR and Chinese Ministries of Foreign Affairs scheduled for the spring of 1985 will also represent a continuation of the political dialogue.

The Soviet Union's approach to relations with the PRC has always been based on the principles of good-neighborly relations and mutual advantage. This is why the most recent visit paid by the USSR first deputy premier to the PRC is considered as a potential factor in the improvement of the political atmosphere in today's complicated and restless world.

ALGERIAN PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT CONTINUES

Brahimi, Filipov Visit Plants

AU091131 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] This morning Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, accompanied Abdelhamid Brahimi, candidate member of the Politburo of the National Liberation Front and prime minister of Algeria, to the "9 September" battery-driven vehicle plant in Sofia. The guest inspected the works where the vehicles are assembled and the automated workshop where components and elements for the vehicles are produced.

Later on, the two government leaders visited "Balkancar" the central scientific-research institute for transport machine building. Prof Georgi Boyadzhiev, director of the institute, briefed them on the basic branches dealt with at the institute and on the work of the institute, as well as on its role in the development program of the scientific research work of the "Balkancar" scientific research and trade trust.

The officials accompanying the Algerian prime Minister also visited the Sofia institutions.

Zhivkov Receives Brahimi

AU081257 Sofia BTA in English 1234 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA) -- Today, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received the candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) and prime minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria who is on an official friendly visit to this country.

The distinguished guest delivered to Mr Todor Zhivkov the cordial greetings of the Algerian party and state leader Mr Chadli Bendjedid. In his turn the Bulgarian party and state leader asked Mr Abdelhamid Brahimi to deliver his best wishes for success to Mr Chadli Bendjedid and to the Algerian people in the development of the country.

At the talks it was noted that there exist great possibilities for the further activation of bilateral cooperation and for integration in the various fields of the economy.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Abdelhamid Brahimi also discussed some topical international issues.

Mr. Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers was also present at the talks.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 8 Jan 85 adds:
"On 8 January Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honor of Abdelhamid Brahimi, which was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, and Grigor Stoichkov; members of the government; and the officials who are accompanying the Algerian prime minister."]

BCP CC GREETES SYRIAN BA'TH PARTY CONFERENCE

AU071516 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jan 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following greetings to the Eighth Regional Conference of the Socialist Ba'th Party and wish its delegates a successful and fruitful work for the benefit of the friendly Syrian people:

The Bulgarian Communists highly appreciate the anti-imperialist foreign policy of the Syrian Arab Republic, under the leadership of Hafiz al-Asad, the general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of Syria. This policy is aimed at resistance to Israeli aggression, supported by the United States, and against the trend of separatist deals, as well as against the interference of worldwide imperialism into the domestic affairs of Arab states. It is aimed at the cohesion of the Arab progressive and national-patriotic forces in the struggle for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict and at the preservation of universal peace.

Under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, following the seventh regional conference, the Syrian Arab Republic achieved a series of successes in consolidating the country's independence and in building the national economy, as well as in further developing friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community member-countries, and with all progressive forces throughout the world.

There is no doubt that the decisions of the Eighth Regional Conference of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party will contribute to the achievement of new successes in the socio-economic sector, to the consolidation of the national, progressive front, and to the struggle for comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East through the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all interested sides.

Esteemed comrades, in wishing you once again successful and fruitful work at your eighth regional conference, we express our confidence that relations between the BCP and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Syria Arab Republic, will continue to develop in the future in the interests of our two friendly peoples, in the interest of our joint struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction; and for peace, democracy, and social progress.

Long live the friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Syrian peoples, between the BCP and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Syrian Arab Republic.

SHULTZ-GROMYKO TALKS VIEWED POSITIVELY

Substantial Differences Exist

LD081818 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Our special correspondent in Geneva, Bohumil Horak, has sent the following information on the progress of today's meeting between the Soviet and American foreign affairs ministers.

[Begin Horak recording] The two foreign ministers, Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz, met for talks twice today. The morning talks opened in the Soviet diplomatic mission at 0930 and continued in the afternoon in the U.S. mission.

The fact that a fourth meeting, which was not originally planned, took place is being viewed positively here in Geneva as evidence of serious and intensive talks. The fourth meeting is also being viewed as evidence that the two sides differ substantially on the set of problems under discussion. As neither the Soviet nor the U.S. sides have issued information on the progress of the meeting, only conjectures and hypotheses are circulating among journalists here in Geneva. According to diplomatic sources in Geneva, the possibility of publishing a joint communique is not being excluded.

According to unconfirmed reports, the two ministers plan to leave Geneva tomorrow morning. George Shultz is returning to Washington, according to Western agencies, to give a briefing on the progress and results of the meeting to President Reagan; his co-workers will then brief the representatives of 16 NATO member states. At the moment it would therefore be premature to give a detailed assessment of the Geneva meeting. [end recording]

First Meetings Very 'Intense'

LD090943 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Our special correspondent in Geneva, Bohumil Horak, has sent a report on the course of the Geneva talks between Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz and on the joint Soviet-U.S. communique:

The report on the opening of the new USSR-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons was received here in Geneva as a hopeful and positive fact. The first reactions point to the fact that meetings were exceptionally intense, with Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz talking for 14 and 1/2 hours over a 2-day period. The meetings provided an opportunity for the two sides to clarify their viewpoints on the problems under discussion; however, these viewpoints remain considerably different and new talks will probably be long and complicated. This was confirmed by George Shultz at the news conference, held at Geneva's Intercontinental Hotel, which ended before midnight. Journalistic circles here in Geneva, however, stress that, regardless of these facts, the meeting pointed to the possibility and need of further dialogue between the USSR and the United States. The USSR has long been ready for a constructive dialogue with the United States. The effort of one side only, however, is not enough; according to journalists here in Geneva, should sincere bilateral effort exist, then even the most complex questions can be resolved.

U.S. Reaction Assessed

LD090953 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Michal Stasz, our New York correspondent, has sent a dispatch on reaction in the United States to the Geneva talks:

The first official response from Washington is the statement of President Reagan who, according to the CBS Radio, is satisfied with the results of the more than 14-hour USSR-U.S. talks. This was the interpretation of McFarlane, official assistant to the President for national security affairs, who had a telephone conversation with Reagan during the night. So far, opponents to further talks with the USSR have not been heard, not even those who were among the official members of the delegation. More responses are expected today. The talks will probably be a topic of detailed analysis by the U.S. President, who will hold his first news conference since the middle of last year, [as heard] later tonight.

CHNOUPEK INTERVIEWED ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AU071431 Prague TRIBUNA No. 1 in Czech 3 Jan 85 pp 3, 12

[Interview given by CSSR Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek to Vaclav Cihak: "Mankind Desires Peace"]

[Text] What will the world be like in the coming year? What must inevitably be done to make it more peaceful and secure? Our attention, too, is focused on the answers to these questions. For this reason we asked Bohuslav Chnoupek, CPCZ Central Committee member and CSSR minister of foreign affairs, for an interview.

[Cihak] Comrade Minister, could you characterize the current international situation? What are the trends?

[Chnoupek] Even at the beginning of this year, the general international situation continues to remain most complicated. This is due to the aggravated and destabilized interstate relations, to the disrupted peace cooperation between East and West, and to the threat of nuclear war. This state of affairs must be blamed on the policy of confrontation being pursued by the most reactionary imperialist circles, particularly those in the United States, which are striving to use force in international relations and achieve military supremacy, and which are therefore feverishly arming themselves on land, at sea, in the air, and in outer space.

The deployment in Western Europe of new American intermediate-range missiles, which are strategic arms by nature, further exacerbated the situation on our continent, which was already dangerous as it is. But the problems are not merely due to these American first-strike nuclear missiles. The political atmosphere was also exacerbated by pronouncements casting doubt on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It is impossible not to see their activating effect on West German revanchism, which has again begun to raise the question of the "open nature of the German issue" and to proclaim the goal of "German unification." We in particular have been alarmed by the anti-Czechoslovak activity of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft and its demands for a revanche and revision of current borders, demands voiced even by official FRG representatives. All those who have security and peace in Europe at heart must be alarmed by this because, in fact, the postwar borders in Europe are inviolable and any attempt to change them would necessarily trigger a war.

Imperialism still refuses to reconcile itself to the current world situation and the growing power and influence of the socialist countries, and is striving to turn back the wheel of history. It refuses to realize that socialism has today become an irreversible reality in a large part of the world and that it can be destroyed neither by war, nor by economic or military extortion. From this we deduce that it is necessary to constantly strengthen the unity of the countries of the socialist community, and to do this both in the political-ideological sphere and, in view of the international situation, also within the framework of the Warsaw Pact defense union.

It is imperative not to let their unity be disrupted, not to permit a wedge to be driven between them, and not to allow any of their weaknesses or shortcomings to be used to attack socialism and the individual socialist countries.

The socialist countries will not permit anyone to destroy the equilibrium of forces which has been established or to achieve strategic supremacy over them, and efforts to do so have no hope of success. We have stressed time and again that no path leads in this direction. The solution must be sought in an honestly conducted, honorable dialogue on the basis of equal rights. There is much evidence that conditions do exist for this, even under the present situation.

That is why we welcomed the announcement that talks between Andrey Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, will be held on the USSR's initiative at the beginning of January in Geneva. The two ministers will discuss common objectives and goals of new negotiations, with the aim of achieving a mutually acceptable agreement on the whole range of issues concerning nuclear and space arms. We consider these deliberations to be the result of the Soviet Union's principled peace policy, which appeals for the enforcement of realistic principles in relations between leading permanent members of the UN Security Council, who bear the inescapable responsibility of preserving peace and security in the world. We can only hope that the American representatives will approach these deliberations with the same sense of responsibility so the deliberations will result in consolidating the current equilibrium of forces, in averting the militarization of outer space, and in diminishing the danger of a nuclear confrontation.

[Cihak] The countries of the socialist community, which are striving to prevent a nuclear war and which are presenting new peace initiatives, represent an obstacle to imperialism's plans. What is their significance, and how does the progressive public in the present world approach them?

[Chnoupek] The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the other socialist countries recently submitted a whole number of constructive proposals aimed at normalizing the international situation and at reviving trust among nations. We still consider realization of the package of initiatives contained in the Warsaw Pact Prague Political Declaration -- and above all the proposal to conclude a Treaty on the Mutual Nonuse of Military Force and on Preserving Peaceful Relations Between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO States -- as one of the most important steps on the path toward averting the threat of war and consolidating peace. With the present tension in international relations, our initiatives are becoming increasingly topical. Their validity was reaffirmed at the Berlin session of the Warsaw Pact Committee of Foreign Affairs Ministers. The beginning of businesslike negotiations on the submitted proposals, for which the Berlin session appealed again, would undeniably manifest goodwill in seeking to avoid war, revive the policy of detente, and preserve peace.

Since we speak toward a radical normalization of the international situation, I wish to draw attention to our active support of the Soviet initiatives aimed at strengthening trust and security in the world. This search for trust and security could be considerably aided if all nuclear powers would commit not to be the first to use nuclear weapons -- a commitment already made by the Soviet Union. The other proposals to freeze and reduce military expenditures also correspond to this, as does the general ban on chemical weapons, the realization of proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact member states on removing chemical weapons from Europe, respect for existing nuclear-free zones and corridors in various parts of the world, and the creation of new nuclear-free zones. We consider preventing the expansion of armaments into outer space to be an unpostponable task. An agreement must be worked out and concluded on averting the militarization of outer space. A commitment must be made to use space exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the well-being of mankind.

A moratorium must be declared on the testing and deployment of space arms. The realization of further significant Soviet initiatives would also substantially contribute to improving the international situation and reducing the danger of war -- this being particularly applicable to adoption of the proposal to codify relations between nuclear states.

The current proposals of the socialist countries are constructive, specific, and aimed at consolidating peace and achieving international security. We are, of course, also prepared to positively assess all proposals which would effectively help reduce tension in the world and help promote an honest and constructive dialogue on all international problems. We believe that the government of every country can and must actively contribute toward establishing relations of fruitful cooperation.

The peace proposals of the socialist countries, motivated by a feeling of deep responsibility for the fate of mankind, for preventing a nuclear catastrophe, and for preserving peace, have been welcomed by the absolute majority of the world public. Today more than ever before, people throughout the world realize that a nuclear war would mean the end of our civilization. This is also why increasing numbers of people are joining the strengthening peace movement and openly acting in support of the proposals submitted by the socialist countries, proposals which represent a realistic alternative to the thermonuclear hell.

[Cihak] Could you evaluate in this context the Czechoslovak foreign policy in the recent period?

[Chnoupek] The CSSR as a firm link of the world socialist system, follows, in the sphere of its foreign political activities, the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. In the spirit of the line set by the 16th CPCZ Congress, in coordination with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, and in realizing the jointly elaborated documents from the Prague session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, from the meeting of the top party and state figures of seven socialist countries in June 1983 in Moscow, and from the CEMA summit session -- documents which were further elaborated at the sessions of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs -- Czechoslovakia acts always and everywhere to preserve peace and maintain favorable conditions for building a developed socialist society. We regard this struggle for peace as the most important task of the present. Throughout the world, honest people have the same interest in resolving this task.

In implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence, we maintain and develop mutually advantageous cooperation with all states from which we encounter understanding and goodwill, regardless of differences in social systems. We see the foundation of developing these relations in consistent respect for the principles of equality, sovereignty, and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries.

We are making use of our participation in the activities of many international organizations, as well as our broad bilateral contacts, to aid the common struggle to realize the socialist states' peace program. We are actively involved in the work of the United Nations; and in disarmament negotiations we contribute our share, together with the other states of the socialist community, to searching for a way to halt the feverish arms race and adopt effective measures to removing the threat of nuclear war.

Thus the balance of Czechoslovak foreign policy is truly positive; it shows a number of highly valuable assets. This was also stated last month by our supreme legislative body, the Federal Assembly.

The fact that in recent years our Republic achieved deserved international recognition and authority reflects, above all, the importance of our contributions to preserving peace in Europe and throughout the world. By its foreign policy, Socialist Czechoslovakia has affirmed in the year 1984, too, its firm and undiminishing trend and intention to continue developing international relations which help deepen the process of détente, develop peaceful cooperation, and seek ways to halt the feverish arms race and bring about disarmament.

[Cihak] What role was played by the recent CEMA session in Havana in further intensifying socialist economic integration?

[Chnoupek] An unambiguously positive one. The session defined a clear perspective of CEMA's development in the coming period, one based on the specific results of economic cooperation among its member countries. These results prove that a successful deepening of socialist economic integration has taken place, as had the establishment of favorable prerequisites which enabled the 39th CEMA session to be held for the first time in history on the American continent, in a country that is the immediate target of political, economic, military, and ideological pressure on the part of its neighbor, the United States.

In further deepening socialist economic integration, the most significant result of the 39th CEMA session was the adoption of long-term comprehensive measures for cooperation in the spheres of energy, fuel, and raw materials up to the year 1990, measures which make it possible to mobilize our own resources and resolve the raw material, fuel, and power problems of the member countries by mutual cooperation. Successful development of the branches mentioned above can be regarded as a strategic line for ensuring the stability and dynamic development of economies in the countries of the socialist community and for the growth of their economic and defense potential.

The measures for further improving the organization of multilateral cooperation within CEMA can also be considered a contribution to the development and intensification of socialist economic integration. The measures are meant to strengthen CEMA's organizational role and concentrate the member countries' attention on solving topical tasks in industrial production. Particular attention will be devoted to the coordination of national economic plans for the years 1986-90; they, too, represent one of the bright perspectives of national economic development inside the economic community. Much has already been achieved in this sector. Concerning preparations for coordination in the above period, 22 multilateral agreements on economic cooperation have already been signed, as have a further 39 agreements on cooperation in science and technology.

The 39th CEMA session confirmed that the path of economic integration, of improving and developing new forms of economic cooperation between the CEMA member countries, is helping to strengthen the unity of the countries of the socialist community. It also confirmed that economic integration is the best reply to the policies of exacerbated political tension, extortion, economic embargoes, and various discriminatory measures broadly applied by the United States and other Western countries against the socialist countries.

[Cihak] How would you, Comrade Minister, evaluate the course of the 39th UN General Assembly Session, particularly the activity of the CSSR delegation and the delegations of the other socialist countries?

[Chnoupek] At the 39th UN General Assembly session an active fight was waged for improving the current international situation.

This is evidenced by a whole number of facts, above all by the basic fact that national heads of state, premiers, and ministers of foreign affairs spoke in favor of improving the international situation, in favor of international detente, and in favor of disarmament, even though their approaches to implementing this policy frequently differed and lacked the necessary balance. This is also evidenced by the fact that almost 30 of the agenda items concern preventing a nuclear war, halting the spiral of feverish armament, and alleviating international tension.

Concrete paths toward solving the most burning international problems were outlined, and readiness to conduct businesslike and constructive negotiations on the basis of equality and equal security was shown in the speeches of representatives of the socialist countries, which speeches were aimed quite unequivocally at averting the danger of a nuclear apocalypse. These speeches also demonstrated the will to make headway in ending the arms race and making a transition toward disarmament, especially in the nuclear sphere. They also demonstrated a will to peacefully resolve the present critical hotbeds of tension all over the world.

The proposals put forward by the socialist countries in this direction once again became a focus of the session's attention this year. Particularly important is the new Soviet initiative aimed at securing commitments from all states to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the well-being of mankind, and also the proposal that outlawing state terrorism and any actions by states aimed at undermining the social and political system of other sovereign states be considered.

At this year's session the CSSR submitted the draft of a resolution on international cooperation for disarmament, which resolution further develops the ideas contained in the Declaration on International Cooperation for Attaining the Goals of Disarmament, which the 34th UN General Assembly adopted upon our initiative. The aim of the resolution is to broadly involve states in a more effective course of action against the continuing arms race, especially nuclear arms, and for averting nuclear war and reinforcing international security.

We also submitted the draft of a resolution on disarmament activities of international organizations, which further develops the proposals contained in last year's resolution of the same name, which resolution was adopted at the initiative of the CSSR and Cuba. The draft resolution positively evaluated the activity of international organizations in the area of disarmament and calls for further diversification of this activity within the framework of the individual organizations' powers.

In close coordination with other socialist countries, the CSSR also co-authored a few more resolutions concerning disarmament, as well as a resolution containing the proposal that a Week of Action for Disarmament be held to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the International Year of Youth. In the interests of attaining peace, our delegation also submitted the draft of a resolution on the rights of young people, especially the right to education and to work. Its aim, as at the preceding three sessions, is to seek the elimination of youth unemployment and accompanying antisocial phenomena.

[Cihak] Deliberations of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security in Europe opened in Stockholm last year. How would you assess the course of the conference so far?

[Chnoupek] We expect that the Stockholm conference, which is the most positive result of the Madrid meeting, will, as a major forum of multilateral East-West dialogue, contribute to improving the international situation, renewing detente, and transferring detente to the military sphere. The course of the conference so far, that is the first four rounds lasting a total of 29 working weeks, contributed to clarifying the positions of individual participating countries. A working structure was established that will permit an equal, parallel, and equally intensive discussion of military-political and military-technical measures. Considerable differences still exist as to what should be the essential contents of the conference, which should stage-by-stage undertake new, effective, and specific steps toward further progress in reinforcing trust and security in order to achieve disarmament in Europe.

The narrow military-technical approach by the NATO states cannot provide adequate guarantees for enhancing trust among states and improving the political climate in Europe. That can be achieved, above all, by adopting truly effective broader measures of a political, international-legal, and military-technical nature. We place particular emphasis on conclusion of a treaty on mutually renouncing the use of military force and preserving peaceful relations among states.

The socialist states are ready to assess at the conference, on an equal basis, all reasonable, businesslike, and constructive proposals whose realization might contribute to enhancing trust and security in Europe. However, proposals have been submitted whose only objective is to undermine the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact member-states and to achieve one-sided advantages for NATO states. What is necessary for progress in Stockholm is a greater sense of mutual understanding and, above all, a more responsible approach and greater political will on the part of the NATO delegations.

[Cihak] Talks on reducing armed forces and arms in central Europe have been going on in Vienna for 11 years without any concrete results. Is there a way out of this situation?

[Chnoupek] We see the unconstructive attitude of the Western participants as the cause of the long stagnation in the Vienna talks. Throughout the course of the talks, from one round to the next, they have been making it impossible, using various pretexts, to arrive at an agreement to substantially reduce armed forces and arms. This approach is apparent even in their latest proposal of last April, which not only does not help bridge outstanding problems, but which creates additional obstacles. It fully perpetuates the so-called numbers issue and, moreover, attempts to expand even more the already exaggerated set of control measures of 1979, which is in contravention to the talks' mandate. It also ignores questions of principle such as arms reduction; the 200,000 man ceiling on air force personnel; and adoption of an effective mechanism for maintaining equal collective levels once the reduction process is completed.

We believe that the compromise proposals put forward by the socialist countries last year still represent an effective path to a concrete agreement, an agreement that would ensure a reduction in the gigantic concentration of armed forces and arms in the heart of Europe, lessen the risk of military confrontation, and strengthen peace, security, and stability while strictly observing the reciprocity and equivalence of commitments without jeopardizing the security of any participant of the two sides. An integral part of these proposals is a comprehensive set of associated measures ensuring effective verification of troop reductions in the agreed area as well as a follow-up verification of adherence to the agreed reduced numerical levels of armed forces.

Through their initiatives, the socialist states have gone more than halfway to meet the West. They have established prerequisites for conclusion of a mutually acceptable agreement on the basis of equality and equal security. It is now solely and exclusively up to the West to show political goodwill and give a businesslike and constructive reply to our proposals of 17 February and 23 June 1983.

[Cihak] This year we will commemorate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. How do you assess relations between the CSSR and the USSR against the background of this event? What does the Soviet Union mean for us today?

[Choupeck] In approaching this jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, it is possible to assess Czechoslovak-Soviet relations as being firmer and more comprehensive than they have ever been. Alliance with the Soviet Union, which was and continues to be the unshakeable foundation and most reliable course of Socialist Czechoslovakia's entire foreign policy, was once again enshrined in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the CSSR and the USSR of 6 May 1970, the 15th anniversary of which we will also recall this year. This document plays a steadily growing role in the process of constant intensification of fraternal relations and gradually increasing closeness of our countries' nations. We can note with satisfaction that the period of active implementation of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress is a period of further development and intensification of the alliance and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the core of which is the steady reinforcement of interaction between the two fraternal Communist Parties and their Central Committees.

The importance for our country of its profound friendship and unshakeable alliance with the Soviet Union is irreplaceable. The rich Soviet experience helps us to find optimal solutions to diverse and, frequently, very complicated problems of internal socialist construction. Economic cooperation and cooperation in research and development, which are a prerequisite for shaping the best possible structure of the Czechoslovak national economy and ensuring crucial needs for a troublefree and effective functioning of our economy, are of vital importance to Czechoslovakia. Successful implementation of the Long-Term Program of Specialization and Production Sharing Between the CSSR and the USSR up to 1990 creates a stable foundation for the long-term development of mutual trade, which is constantly increasing. Mutual trade exceeded R12 billion last year, 12 percent more than in 1983.

The experience of our Soviet friends represents at the same time a reliable guideline in determining and executing our foreign policy. It is the very alliance with the Soviet Union and our membership in the large family of socialist countries that guarantees our social and economic security as well as our national security; that enhances our prestige in the international arena; and that establishes all necessary conditions for the comprehensive development of our people. That is why friendship with the USSR is not for us, and can never be, a matter of some narrow momentary interest. It is only logical that this friendship will continue constantly to strengthen and develop.

CHNOUPEK INTERVIEWED ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS

AU071436 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jan 85 pp 1,4

[Interview given by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, to Georgi Monev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Prague: "In the First Days of 1985"; -- place not given]

[Text] [Monev] How do you evaluate the development of international relations in 1984, and what are the prospects for 1985?

[Chnoupek] When now, at the beginning of 1985, we ponder international problems, we understand even better that the international situation during 1984 was complicated and dangerously exacerbated because of the policy of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, and first of all, U.S. imperialism. Relations between states deteriorated and were destabilized, peaceful cooperation between East and West was disrupted, and tension in the world increased. This was so because throughout the year world imperialism strived by all means to violate the process of alleviating tension and achieve a decisive military superiority over the countries of the socialist community.

An especially dangerous situation was created on our continent, where Washington began to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. According to their character they are first-strike strategic weapons. Some statements, which were in contradiction to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, also contributed to deterioration of the political climate and had an activating influence on West German revanchism.

The socialist countries will not allow anyone to violate the balance of power or achieve strategic superiority over them. Such aspirations have no chance of success. A solution must be sought in the direction of an honest and equal dialogue.

Many circumstances confirm that conditions now exist for such a dialogue. In this context we greet the announcement that at the Soviet initiative, in a few days in Geneva talks will take place between Andrey Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state. The two ministers will discuss the subject and goals of the new talks on reaching mutually acceptable agreements on the entire system of issues related to nuclear and space weapons. If the talks are to be successful and are to contribute to strengthening the balance of power, preventing the militarization of space, and decreasing the danger of a nuclear war, it is necessary that the U.S. representatives at the talks approach them with the same sense of responsibility as the Soviet side.

Today, more than ever before, the most topical task is to activate the struggle to prevent a nuclear war, achieve disarmament, and protect peace. The only real way to achieve these goals is to adopt consistent measures to strengthen peace, alleviate tension, stop the arms race, and expand and strengthen cooperation among peoples.

One of the main conditions for overcoming the present dangerous stage in international life is consolidating the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, most closely rallying the fraternal socialist countries, and strengthening their cooperation in all areas.

We have in our efforts what is needed to remove the nuclear danger and protect peace. The socialist countries have repeatedly proposed many constructive measures aimed at improving the international situation and restoring confidence among states.

These are initiatives that contain many new ideas aimed at preventing nuclear war, liquidating nuclear weapons systems, preventing the militarization of space, limiting military budgets, and ending the arms race. We consider implementation of the initiatives included in Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-countries to be the most important of these proposals.

The sincerity and selflessness of the socialist countries in promoting the cause of peace, and their determination to do everything to protect peace is unshakable. This is the most secure and reliable foundation of the peoples' optimism in the future.

[Monev] Would you please outline briefly the contribution of Czechoslovakia to the struggle of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community for securing the peaceful and happy future of mankind?

[Chnoupek] The CSSR, as a strong link in the socialist community, is led in its foreign policy by the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. In the spirit of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the policy of a coordinated approach on the part of the fraternal parties, the CSSR will always and everywhere cooperate in protecting peace and securing conditions for constructing mature socialism. For this purpose we maintain and develop mutually beneficial cooperation with all states while respecting their equality, sovereignty, independence, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

We are utilizing our broad bilateral relations and our activity and participation in many international organizations in the common struggle to implement the peace program of the socialist countries. We are actively engaged, first of all, in the United Nations, where we are contributing to peaceful and just solutions to problems not only through actions coordinated with Soviet initiatives, but also through our own initiatives.

Such was the case with the adoption of our Declaration of International Cooperation for Implementing the Goals of Disarmament. We are also making efforts for the success of the Stockholm Conference, the Vienna talks on limiting arms and troops in central Europe, and the Geneva disarmament talks. We are now devoting special attention to the third conference on evaluating implementation of the treaty for nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, which will convene this year in Geneva according to a decision of the UN General Assembly. As a member of the preparatory committee, the CSSR will do everything possible to ensure the conference's success.

The balance of the CSSR's foreign policy is positive and shows a valuable record. This was also noted at the recent session of the Federal Assembly. The fact that in recent years our Republic has required deserved international recognition and authority is a result, first of all, of our tireless efforts to protect peace in Europe and the world.

With its consistent and peace-loving policy, during the past year Czechoslovakia confirmed that it is willing to promote international relations that will help alleviate international tension, develop international peaceful cooperation, and find ways to stop the arms race and begin disarmament.

MOTHER THERESA DISCUSSES SETTLING NUNS IN BRNO

WA090700 Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 16 Dec 84 p 1

Mother Theresa of Calcutta visited Czechoslovakia in November at the invitation of Prague Cardinal Tomasek.

According to reports she also met with relevant state authorities with whom she discussed the possible settlement of nuns from her order, the Sisters of Love, in Brno. Mother Theresa would send four nuns to Brno to express her gratitude for the help extended by Czechoslovakia, and in this way promote friendship between the peoples of India and Czechoslovakia.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS TO PRK ON ANNIVERSARY

Husak, Strougal to Heng Samrin

ID062144 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Jan 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, and Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, have sent Heng Samrin, secretary general of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, and telegram of congratulations on the national day of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the PRK.

Esteemed comrade, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and people, and in our own names we send you, the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the Council of Ministers, and all Cambodian people ardent comradely greetings and congratulations on the national day of your country -- the sixth anniversary of the PRK's establishment.

We sincerely value the efforts of the Cambodian people to surmount the difficult consequences of the government of the Pol Pot regime and to build a socially just society. We appreciate the results which your people, under the leadership of the KPRP and in cooperation with the states of the socialist community, have achieved in reestablishing and developing political, economic and social life, and in consolidating the sovereignty, independence and international authority of your country. The PRK makes an important contribution to the common struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism and for lasting peace in the world. In cooperation with fraternal Vietnam and Laos, it is striving to change Southeast Asia into a region of peace, stability and good relations between states, to avert the threat of war, and to normalize the international situation.

We are pleased to note that friendship and internationalist solidarity are strengthening between our parties and countries, between the Czechoslovak and Cambodian peoples, and that multilateral cooperation is developing successfully. We will continue to work to strengthen this and to consolidate Czechoslovak-Cambodian friendly relations, which serve the interests of our nations, the cause of peace, and socialism. We wish you, esteemed comrade, and all the Cambodian people many successes in implementing the conclusions of the fourth congress of your party in building a new society in your fatherland.

Indra, Chnoupek to Counterparts

LD062142 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Jan 85

[Text] Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, has sent a telegram of congratulations on the national day of the PRK to Chea Sim, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the National Assembly.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek has sent a telegram of congratulations to Hun Sen, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the PRK.

ADN DETAILS ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY GAINS

LD082104 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1801 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Berlin, 8 Jan (ADN) -- Thanks to the outstanding performance of the working people, 1984 has been the most successful economic year in the annals of the GDR. The policy of the main task with its integral economic and social policy was successfully continued. According to preliminary data, the produced national income rose by 5.5 percent; 90 percent of the increment results from higher productivity, while the level of production inputs was lowered. Intensively expanded reproduction determines the development of the economy. Net production controlled by the industrial ministries rose by 8.5 percent. Labor productivity rose by 7.7 percent. Costs per M100 of manufactures declined by 2.3 percent. The output of manufactures controlled by the industrial ministries rose by 4.5 percent.

The large increase in the output of finished goods for the public made possible a 5 percent growth of retail trade turnover in manufactured goods. Retail trade in 1984 sold goods worth M4.2 billion more than in 1983, a 4.1 percent increase. The net money income of the population rose by 3.9 percent compared with 1983. The value of services and repairs for the public provided locally rose by over 4 percent. In housing construction, 207,034 newly built or modernized dwellings represent the highest annual figure ever achieved, and as a result, housing conditions improved for 621,000 citizens. In the building industry, net production rose by 7.7 percent and productivity by 7.6 percent. Building costs were further reduced.

In agriculture, cooperative farmers and workers in 1984 produced 11.5 million metric tons of grain, the biggest grain harvest ever. Total crop production measured in grain equivalent units was 48.5 decitonnes per hectares. State purchases of animal produce rose by 6.7 percent for fat stock and 6.3 percent for milk. The egg supply target was fulfilled with 103.7 percent. Yields and output were increased and the cost-return ratio improved. Net production in the food industry rose by 6.5 percent. In forestry, the plan for raw timber supplies was exceeded.

The transport industry fulfilled the requirements of the economy. Transport unit costs were lowered by 4.6 percent. The railroads carried 4.1 percent more goods. In 1984, a further 253 km of rail lines were electrified. Inland shipping carried 6.4 percent more goods than in 1983. Postal and telecommunication services to the public and economy rose by 2.9 percent.

The following growth of net production and productivity was achieved in the various sectors of industry and in the building industry:

	net production	labor productivity
	(in percentages)	
coal and energy	7.6	6.2
ore mining, metallurgy and potash	9.5	9.0
chemical industry	9.4	9.2
electrical engineering/electronics	15.8	14.4
heavy engineering and plant construction	8.1	8.0
machine tools and processing machines	9.3	8.9
general, agricultural, and automotive engineering	9.8	8.4
light industry	9.0	9.4
glass and ceramics industry	13.4	12.2
area controlled industry and food industry	8.3	7.3
geology	14.2	10.8
building industry	7.7	7.6

SPACE WEAPONS 'CRITICAL' TO GENEVA TALKS

DW081445 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 7 Jan 85

[Gunter Leuschner's weekly international review]

[Text] Geneva -- The city of innumerable conferences, the location of fulfilled and unfulfilled wishes and hopes for more understanding and disarmament is today, and will be again tomorrow, the focus of public attention. The U.S. and Soviet foreign ministers have held their first two talks which are to be continued in the Soviet UN mission tomorrow morning, behind closed doors of course. Tomorrow afternoon at the earliest, we will learn something about the results. For the moment, there are just expectations and hopes.

At the new year's reception for the diplomatic corps today, Erich Honecker expressed the hope that the Geneva talks would pave the way for more substantive and constructive negotiations. He pointed out that more weapons do not mean increased security. If the militarization of outer space could be prevented and nuclear weapons reduced, he said, great material and intellectual resources that are today blocked by the arms buildup would be released for the benefit of mankind.

Since the international press several weeks ago reported the foreign ministers' forthcoming talks, these and similar expectations have been repeatedly expressed. The wish for a change in international relations, which was also mentioned by Erich Honecker today, a change that is objectively possible if U.S. policy changes, is stronger than ever. This wish is naturally connected with the meeting of the two foreign ministers.

Because in such a situation some people tend to view their wishes and hopes as fact, we would like to recapitulate in a businesslike way what is and is not being discussed at these ministerial talks. The Soviet Union and the United States recently agreed in principle to resume complex negotiations on space weapons and nuclear arms. When he arrived in Geneva, the Soviet foreign minister pointed to the connection between the two issues. He expressly spoke about interrelated problems.

Second, it is the two ministers' task to develop a common stance on the object and goals of these negotiations. In simplified terms this means that the basic negotiating readiness on such complex talks must be given concrete form in Geneva. This can be done by the two sides working toward a common position on the object and, in particular, the goal of such negotiations. If the ministers' talks take a positive course, the negotiations proper would then begin at a later time. Thus, nothing more but also nothing less, can happen during these 2 days.

Therefore, realistically speaking, it is too early to talk about a change in relations between the two states. Such a change could come about in the course of the negotiations proper, but these have not yet even begun. As always in such cases, everything will depend on the concerned sides' readiness to negotiate. In this connection, prior to the Geneva talks it was much easier to recognize the position of the Soviet Union than that of the United States.

When he arrived in Geneva, Andrey Gromyko said that his country wanted to prevent an arms race in outer space and to radically limit nuclear arms. The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated it wants a ban on all militarization of space and is ready to go as far as the total elimination of all nuclear weapons. These are very clear statements. It also is no coincidence that over the weekend Konstantin Chernenko again talked about the significance of a nuclear weapons freeze and mentioned the ban on the first use of nuclear weapons.

Agreement by the two superpowers on such a nuclear weapons freeze, on a ban on the first use of nuclear weapons, and on a moratorium on space weapons tests would be a truly ideal starting point for the present and future negotiations in Geneva. The Soviet Union continues to be ready for such a starting signal.

To sum up, a ban on all militarization of outer space, a radical reduction of strategic and intermediate range nuclear weapons, and accompanying measures like those I mentioned earlier, this is the Soviet Union's program.

Unfortunately, it is much more difficult to define the U.S. position equally clearly or recognize it all. This is certainly attributable to the fact that the U.S. press in recent weeks frequently reported on differences between the Pentagon and Department of State as well as between some presidential advisers. These reports probably contained a lot of speculation, but many of them have a very serious background.

Some 20 U.S. organizations recently addressed an appeal to the White House to drop plans to militarize outer space and to produce new MX missiles, so there must be doubts about its readiness for serious negotiating. There must be a reason why in its first action following the elections, the U.S. Senate voted to ask the administration to be accommodating and flexible, and announced that it would send its own observers to disarmament negotiations in the future.

Many Americans believe that Washington's position on the militarization of outer space is the most serious problem of all. The Soviet Union wants to prevent this, while so far the United States is not ready to take such a step. This is quite clear from all U.S. statements. All news agencies reported on Friday that the President is standing by his plan for a defense system in outer space and speaks in this connection of defensive weapons. However, experts from the SIPRI institute say it is impossible to differentiate between offensive and defensive space weapons and in their latest study demand a definitive ban on all space weapons.

In the latest issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, George Kennan, Robert McNamara, and other U.S. experts even go a step further. They write that it is possible to reach practical agreements with the Soviets, and equally possible to insist on the star wars program. However, it is absolutely impossible to do both.

Basically, the U.S. politicians have the same position as Konstantin Chernenko, who over the weekend wrote to Christian church representatives that if the U.S. militarist forces were to prevail in this issue of the militarization of space, the result would be an irreversible situation entailing the worst consequences imaginable.

One thing is clear -- the problem of the militarization or nonmilitarization of outer space is one of the critical points in the two ministers' talks in Geneva. Provided that a definitive agreement on negotiations is reached, this will continue to be an especially critical point. Everything would be easier if the United States were to prove at this point the readiness for constructive negotiations that was expressed by Secretary of State Shultz yesterday.

The United States only needs to act like the Soviet Union, but we will have to wait and see whether it does.

DAILY CITES CHERNENKO WARNING ON SPACE WEAPONS

AU081105 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] Moscow (ADN) -- Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has once again drawn attention to the importance of freezing nuclear armaments for world peace. In his answer to a message from Avery Post (United States of America) and Karoly Toth (Hungary), cochairmen of the consultative meeting of representatives of the Christian churches that was published on Saturday, he refers to the fact that it would be a significant step toward reducing the danger of a nuclear war if all countries possessing nuclear arms would undertake this commitment. Konstantin Chernenko recalls the unilateral commitment of the USSR to not be the first to use nuclear arms.

The USSR shares the concern expressed in the message on the possible militarization of space. "If the militaristic forces of the United States were to succeed in gaining the upper hand in this question, an irreversible situation would be created that includes the worst consequences conceivable," the answer states.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to bringing about an agreement with the United States on the entire complex of questions concerning both the nonmilitarization of space and nuclear armaments. The need has become ripe to take immediate and efficient measures to not allow the further destabilization of the strategic situation and to prevent new rounds of the arms race. The negotiations must be honest and business-like and not aim at deceiving the partner and the public. The main thing is the search for mutually acceptable solutions that would be in line with the interests of peace.

The leading Soviet representative reaffirms the striving of the USSR for cooperation with all forces of peace including religious circles that could play a significant role in delivering mankind from the nuclear danger.

HOFFMANN ADDRESSES RECEPTION FOR MILITARY ENVOYS

LD081747 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1600 CMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Berlin, 8 Jan (ADN) -- In firm fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states and in cooperation with all forces interested in a return to detente, it was possible in 1984 to make a contribution to the preservation of peace. This was stated by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, on Tuesday in Berlin and at a New Year's reception for the military and defense attaches accredited to the GDR. In this vitally important goal the members of the National People's Army, the border troops, and all other defense and security organs of the GDR will spare no effort in the new year to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil. In 1985, too, it is the task of the GDR and its allies to undertake every measure required to uphold the military balance and secure a peaceful future for the fraternal peoples.

Colonel Mihail Bobalau, military, Air Force and naval attache at the Romanian Embassy expressed thanks on behalf of his colleagues for the favorable working conditions last year.

The reception was attended by deputy defense ministers and other members of the staff of the Ministry of National Defense.

RALLY PLANNED TO COMMEMORATE ROSA LUXEMBURG

AU071531 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] The Berlin SED Bezirk leadership, the FDGB Bezirk Executive Committee, and the Bezirk Executive Committee of the National Front call upon the Berlin working people to participate in the militant demonstration on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg at the memorial place of the socialists in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde.

It starts on Sunday 13 January 1985 at 0900 under the slogan: "In the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg for socialism and peace!"

Speaker: Werner Jarowinsky, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee

HONECKER CONGRATULATES SWEDISH LEFT PARTY LEADER

AU071524 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Lars Werner, chairman of the Left Party Communists in Sweden.

Dear Comrade Lars Werner: On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf, I convey to you my cordial congratulations on your reelection as chairman of the Left Party Communists.

We wish you success in your responsible work, health, and creative vigor.

U.S.-USSR COMMUNIQUE ON ARMS TALKS REVIEWED

LD091002 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] We begin our foreign news round-up with an account of the results of the meeting between the Soviet and American foreign ministers.

As our on-the-spot correspondent Istvan Kulcsar reports, although we can expect the resumption of disarmament talks, the differences between the views of the two super-powers have not disappeared.

[Begin Kulcsar recording] A joint communique was issued late last night about the 2-day meeting in Geneva between the Soviet and American foreign ministers, Gromyko and Shultz. According to the communique, an agreement was reached on opening Soviet-American talks about the whole complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range. The objective of the negotiations is to work out effective agreements to prevent an arms race in space and terminate the arms race on earth. Negotiations will be conducted by a delegation from each side, divided into three groups. The ultimate goal of the forthcoming talks is the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere. In conclusion, the joint Soviet-American communique states that the date and site of these negotiations will be established through diplomatic channels within 1 month.

At his late-night news conference in Geneva, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz said that he reported by telephone to President Reagan, who was satisfied with the agreement, about which the United States will inform its allies in the next few days. The American secretary of state stressed that the two sides agreed on important issues; however, a great many complex questions still await solution.

Shultz described the meeting which ended yesterday evening as frank, objective, and useful. In answer to a question, he explained that the United States did not commit itself to suspend preparations for space weapons for the duration of the talks.

At his dawn press conference, Vladimir Lomeyko, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, described the Soviet-American foreign ministerial meeting as important and useful. He noted that it was necessary that the goal of the agreement reached -- that the joint efforts of both sides ultimately lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms -- should not be forgotten before and during the negotiations to be held.

The Soviet spokesman stressed that the agreement reached was a positive step and he expressed his hope that it would lead to the improvement of Soviet-American relations. [end recording]

FINANCE MINISTER HOLDS MOSCOW TALKS, RETURNS

LD090318 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Finance Minister Istvan Hetenyi has held talks in Moscow. He held discussions with his Soviet colleague, Vasiliiy Garbuzov, about the financial systems of the two countries and about the expansion of relations. They discussed ways to develop the CEMA monetary and financial system. Istvan Hetenyi has arrived home from Moscow.

NEMETH ASSESSES POLITICAL, ECONOMIC SITUATION

WA090800 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Karoly Nemeth: "Preparing for the Congress"]

[Text] The 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in March of the coming year will be an outstanding event of party life which will be the cause not only of communists but also of every honest Hungarian who loves his socialist homeland and is ready to act for it. The congress stands in the center of interest because in addition to the internal affairs of the party, it will discuss, as providing a program, the important political, social, economic, and cultural questions which most concern all our people at the present time. Trust in the party and recognition of its leading role in Hungarian society, exercised with responsibility, is expressed in this interest.

Hungarian communists -- members of the primary organizations and elected bodies and the officials -- feel their obligation to evaluate critically and self-critically the work done in the past 5 years, to weigh those circumstances under which we have worked and are working. The congress guiding principles made public by the Central Committee create a suitable starting point for responsible analysis and creative common thinking and aid the purposeful unfolding of productive debate. Thus far what has been said at the membership meetings which hear reports supports the chief findings of the guiding principles and supplements them well.

The mentioned palpable and justified great social interest, the leading role and historical responsibility oblige the party to review and evaluate, realistically and in accordance with the actual situation, all the chief areas of our life and to pose tasks in politics, the economy, and cultural life which will serve the progress of the country.

In preparing to give an accounting at the congress, a just demand has been formulated in the communists' and in broader public opinion that our party continue to develop further, adjusting to the new requirements, the political line it has followed consistently for 38 years and which has been confirmed at every congress during that time.

The essence of this political line is unchanged; its goal is the building of an ever more developed socialist society with the creative work of our entire people under the leadership of the party, realizing its social leading role recognized in historical practice and set down in our Constitution, based on mutual trust between the party and people in a frank, open, and democratic atmosphere.

But our policy necessarily has changing elements within this unchanged line; this flexibility and ability to develop also belong to the essence of that line. Changing circumstances and conditions require new methods, too; from time to time development has and is putting different concrete historical tasks on the agenda. These have included tasks solved in a relatively short time; others require the tenacious, continual work of many years or decades. Let us think only of the defense of the workers' power, of the socialist reorganization of agriculture after the consolidation and strengthening of the cooperatives, of the modernization of our system of economic guidance, and of the unfolding of socialist democracy. Or let us think of what has been the chief characteristic of recent years -- and in part of those before us -- keeping our economy on its feet and defending our achievements amidst world economic conditions which have become extraordinarily unfavorable for us.

The period which now follows will make possible a bit more than this, and poses as a task for us the laying of foundations for a modest but tangible development and further progress. Thus the unchanging nature of our political line and the constantly changing concrete tasks constitute close unity; this has been the source of our achievements thus far and we will build on this in the future also.

Since the 12th Congress we have achieved highly estimable political, economic, and cultural results in socialist construction work, amidst circumstances less favorable and more difficult than could have been expected. Naturally, attention has been primarily concentrated on the economic work which represents the material foundation for the life and development of the country. It is thanks to the firmness of our people and the common efforts of the guiding organs that in a world economic situation in which some 50 countries were forced to request a rescheduling of debt repayment -- and they had to face a serious deterioration in the conditions of existence, we preserved our solvency. In the past 4 years we increased our national income by 8 percent and industrial production by 10 percent. Agricultural production, as an average for the last 4 years, was 13 percent more than in the second half of the seventies. We protected the standard of living achieved on a social scale, improved living conditions, and maintained an adequate supply of goods. The real income and consumption of the populace rose by about 6 percent as a whole, although incomes developed differently for different strata. It is true that real wages decreased somewhat. It is also true that there are strata, groups, and families in our homeland for which living undeniably became more difficult. In addition, people feel that stagnation or maintaining the same level is a worsening, especially after an earlier upswing. This peculiarity of social morale is not something new. Many were and are able to maintain their earlier level of life only with extra work, curtailing their free time. But in a world burdened with such serious problems we certainly have nothing to be ashamed of. On the contrary, what we have achieved between the two congresses is worthy of respect.

Our party and government see clearly that the situation of some social strata has become especially difficult in recent years. With the increase in prices the real value of pensions was not maintained; this is especially hard on older people with small pensions. For this reason it is our determined intention to do everything possible, depending on the material resources of the economy, to stop the deterioration in the real value of pensions and ease the situation of those with small pensions. We want to offer increased aid to families with more children.

We also see clearly that in recent years, as compared to earlier, it has become very difficult for young people to get housing and start a home; this is one of the most burning problems today, for the price of housing has increased to a greater extent than anything else. But we cannot encourage illusions; even in the years ahead four-fifths of the housing built each year will be private property which must be created within the framework of private construction. On the other hand, we must do everything to ease the situation of those building homes with their own resources and with state and work place support, with better building material supply and by reducing bureaucratism and hindering speculation.

In recent years we have also succeeded in preserving a great socialist social achievement, full employment, and it is our intention to preserve it in the future also. We can truly appreciate this achievement if we look at the camp of the unemployed in the capitalist world, even in the richest Western states -- a camp of many millions which is still growing today.

But we should not forget that employment and efficient use of manpower (technical development and reducing live-labor expenditure) are in a certain contradiction with one another everywhere in the world. Under capitalist conditions the development of technology takes place in a destructive, drastic manner which causes mass insecurity; we see innumerable examples of this in the West today. We are seeking a socialist solution to this problem; our enterprises and cooperatives are responsible for efficient employment; our state organs, the local and central ones alike, must do everything in the future for full employment, for regrouping and retraining workers.

In addition to our achievements, we must also see clearly that our efforts thus far have not been sufficient to create through productive work the conditions to counterbalance the unfavorable external effects oppressing the Hungarian economy. For this reason we were able to keep the economy on its feet primarily by restricting internal use of national income by moderating investment and technical development and in some places by reducing production. This situation, however, cannot be maintained over the longer run. We must base our plans for the coming 5 years on better management with our own internal sources and possibilities.

As is contained in the congress guiding principles, it is the recommendation of the Central Committee that in the years ahead we increase the income-producing ability of the economy. This is the most important thing to be done! With a vigorous and many-sided development of intensive management, with a further modernization of guidance, with a fuller utilization of internal reserves, and with efficient, well-organized, disciplined work we must achieve well-founded economic growth, however modest, which will make possible a further improvement of the external economic balance, a gradual and broad renewal of the technical and technological foundations of production, and finally, building on all this, a tangible increase in the standard of living.

We are confident that this recommendation is realistic and realizable. The most important conditions for more tangible development exist in production, in guidance, and in the awareness and willingness to act of our people. The data on this year's plan fulfillment thus far indicate a consolidation of our economic situation, as does the fact that in the year ahead it may be a realistic goal to change several undesirable processes, thus putting an end to the decrease in investment and real wages. Going beyond this, we may also prescribe a small increase in real income and consumption.

In the judgment of the Central Committee we are capable of stepping up economic development if everyone offers in his own post what he has of knowledge and diligent work. We will be capable of progress if our people agree with this 5-year program, if common agreement comes about in this also, and if our people support it actively, ready to realize this program with their work: in a word, if we strengthen further our greatest achievement, socialist national unity.

The successful work between the two congresses was made possible by the facts that the people's power, the socialist order, is strong; our internal political situation is balanced; the link between the party and the masses is alive; and party members and nonparty people, people adopting differing world views, Hungarians and the nationalities of equal rank are working together for the realization of our goals. This is the pledge of our development in the future also. Our alliance policy provides broad scope for responsible action and useful cultivation of public life to every creative force of our society; indeed, it demands it.

We are living in times which put our party and our people to a great test of strength. There are positive and negative phenomena in our society at the same time. The honest majority of people work with discipline and devotion, fulfill their obligations on the job and as citizens, and live in accordance with the moral norms of the community. There are many who really provide an example in leadership posts, in elected party and mass organization bodies, in the councils, in the Workers' Guard and other areas, serving the common cause unselfishly.

In contrast to this one can also find apathetic behavior, selfishness, and parasitic attitudes and conduct. There are more than a few who simply go in to work, work negligently, and do not offer what they are capable of. Events which violate public morality, make nothing of civic discipline, and violate the law have become more frequent; irresponsible behavior, negligent management of public property, making illegal profit, abuse of power or using it for selfish, private purposes are not rare even among those in leading positions. This justly outrages every honest citizen because he sees and feels what damage this does to the common cause, what is lost. And the moral and political damage is many times greater than the material loss that can be demonstrated directly. There is a need for more determined action everywhere against these harmful phenomena, relying on the public, which demands a more consistent realization of our social norms.

Socialist legality is strong in our homeland, public security is good, and the great majority of citizens respect the laws and prosper by virtue of their work. But there are also those who live without work, evading the laws, at the expense of the community, who do not prosper from their work or not in proportion to it, or who simply take the path of crime. Strict action against them is primarily the task of the criminal investigation and administration of justice organs; but it is the interest and obligation of society as a whole, of every honest person in his own environment, to take effective action to force back and prevent illegal behavior.

We must act with the strength of our laws and strict adherence to socialist legality against those who violate the laws. The socialist society demands and expects discipline, civic and work discipline from all of its members. Only greater order, organization, and discipline can be a real basis or cover for development, for overcoming problems. We want to achieve this in places of work and in public life alike with a development of socialist democracy and a strengthening of public social control.

In the course of the congress preparations we reviewed the chief questions connected with the leading role of the party. The accounts prepared thus far confirm that our party is doing its work effectively even amidst today's more complicated conditions, is realizing its social leading role, and is guiding socialist construction work ideologically and politically in accordance with its constitutional right and obligation. Communists, naturally, have no privileges and will have none in the future either. Our party performs its activity in devoted service to the interests of the homeland and people, on the basis of a policy accepted and approved by the masses. Its chief method is persuasion.

The members and organizations of the party worked for the realization of the resolution of the 12th congress in an awareness of their responsibility and with increasing independence. They made great efforts to see that the methods of party work adapted better to the changing circumstances. Their political sensitivity and receptivity to new circumstances increased, and they are embracing good initiatives and acting more courageously against errors, helping to eliminate them with their opinions and proposals.

It is an essential requirement for the successful continuation of socialist construction work that the ideological, political influence of the party broaden and strengthen. The chief condition for this is the ideological, political, organizational, and action unity of the party which, we know, is not given once and for all but must be constantly renewed.

In general our party members are standing well the test of more difficult times and are fulfilling their obligations honorably, selflessly serving the common interest. But some of them have lost confidence and certainly do not evince sufficient determination in representing our policy in a brave and unambiguous stand for our cause. However, one should expect this; it is a basic obligation of every communist and is especially indispensable in the present period. It is as if we got a little lax in this respect in the sixties and seventies, a dynamically growing period of our development when our successes created favorable conditions for developing and maintaining agreement, mutual understanding, and social consensus, and when one did not have to struggle hard to convince people. Since the end of the seventies, however, and amidst the present complex circumstances, if we do not want our sometimes unpopular, forced measures to lead to tensions, if we want our people to accept these also with insight and understanding, if we want to preserve the achievements so valuable for all of us -- social order and tranquillity -- then our party cannot overlook the passivity and lack of courage of some of its members and their retreat from debates.

Thus every communist should unambiguously represent the party policy, the correct position resting on foundations in principle; he should stand up for it openly in any situation in his own environment and should work for its realization.

Representing the party policy requires greater political sensitivity and a more determined stand than before from party leaders working in areas of culture, art, and science, just as much as from those working in the economy. The primary organizations must get more and better help in carrying out their political tasks. The chief measure of the activity of the party committees should be the improving level of work of the primary organizations guided by them.

In the future also, democratic centralism, the Leninist principle, must be realized consistently in the life of our party. We must develop corporate leadership, improve the democratic functioning of party forums, and strengthen a partylike spirit of debate. In the interest of an even further development of party democracy, it is an important task to improve the work of party forums everywhere, especially of the membership meetings, and to develop an open, creative atmosphere. In addition, making party democracy more profound will guarantee the further strengthening of the democratism of social life, and this has extraordinarily great significance. Our greatest reserve for solving the tasks before us is in a perfection of socialist democracy and in an even better, more substantive operation of its institutions. The introduction of the new enterprise guidance forms may also serve well the discovery of real reserves. Workers on the job and citizens in public life will participate more actively and readily in the realization of the goals and tasks put forward, will increasingly feel them to be their own, and will see the conditions and possibilities better, from within, to the extent that they are included more in working out the goals and tasks, in preparing and making the decisions. This is a very great resource.

The international activity of our party is also guided by the interests of our people and the ideals of proletarian internationalism. Our foreign policy is unambiguously a socialist foreign policy.

We are preceeding in close unity with the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries. We are working with all our strength to further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the fraternal countries. Making Hungarian-Soviet friendship more profound and further enriching our cooperation is especially important for us. We are linked together inseparably by socialist principles and the identity of basic goals and interests. The threads of friendship between our peoples are unbreakable. This is the surest international support of the independence of our homeland and of our socialist construction work, and at the same time the chief guarantee of our dearest treasure, of peace. We are also striving for mutually advantageous cooperation with countries with different social systems.

Our congress preparations are given special significance by the fact that it coincides with the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland. The liberating role of the Soviet Union endures forever in the history of Hungary. This turn of fate made possible the announcing of a program of social progress resting on the broad national union of the most consistent forces of progress. The Hungarian people knew how to take advantage of freedom and the historic opportunity, and in 4 decades they have achieved development never seen before. Possessing power, they created something historically great and lasting.

We reached our achievements in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries. We can build the future on a solid foundation also only through an unbreakable alliance with the liberating Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries.

Love for the socialist homeland is manifested in responsibility felt for the fate of the country, shown in active behavior; deeds are the test of love of the homeland. The development of labor competition initiated in honor of the 13th congress and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland is a beautiful example of this; in many respects this indicates a qualitative renewal of this movement. We can regard the achievements of the economy and the competition movement as enriching the socialist society, as political support for the congress preparations, and as an expression of agreement with the chief line of the party thus far. Our everyday work, the execution of our economic tasks, and preparation for the congress must be in close harmony. We should complete our economic plans for this year honorably and successfully; we should begin our work for next year with an enthusiasm worthy of the anniversary of our liberation and of the 13th congress.

Our party members know that our policy, which reckons with realities; a modern style of work suiting the present requirements; and a frank, open, democratic atmosphere are the basis for trust in the party and in socialism. The chief source of our strength is that our people trust the party and are ready to join in solving the tasks before us and in overcoming the difficulties. This trust creates an obligation. It obliges the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to answer its call with historic responsibility and to continue to devotedly and successfully serve the truest interests of the Hungarian people, our socialist development, our common prosperity.

TESTIMONY CONTINUES IN POPIELUSZKO TRIAL

Chmielewski Retracts Statements

LD071522 Hamburg DPA in German 1350 GMT 7 Jan 85

[Text] Torun, 7 Jan (DPA) -- In the trial of the four security officials facing charges of kidnapping and murdering opposition priest Jerzy Popieluszko, the name of Wladyslaw Ciaston, deputy minister at the Interior Ministry, was mentioned for the first time. However, the accused, Waldemar Chmielewski, retracted former statements that this deputy minister might possibly have known of the kidnapping. He said today that his had been on his own "supposition."

Earlier the court read Chmielewski's statements made during preliminary investigations that before the first kidnapping attempt the principal accused Piotrowski had arrived "satisfied" at the office and said the whole affair had been agreed upon with Ciaston.

Facing the court today, Chmielewski toned down this statement, as his colleague Leszek Pekala did earlier, and said Piotrowski had merely said that Colonel Adam Pietruszka (co-accused as originator) had confirmed the matter with "those above." "The name Ciaston I added for myself mentally," he now said.

Asked by the court whether the idea had not occurred to him that all Piotrowski's information about the agreement of the ministry's officials could have been merely a cover-up, Chmielewski said: "One of the most important principles of our job is unconditional confidence in our superiors." He was quite unable to suppose that the vain attempts by Piotrowski to get in touch by telephone with his superior, in his presence, could have been a cover-up.

Chmielewski, who because of a nervous facial twitch spoke only with great difficulty, described the various preparations and assured repeatedly that he had been convinced that it was a matter of intimidating but not murdering the priest. Among the many variants of "intimidation" he said the possibility had been considered of tying up the priest and placing him for a time in a hole in the forest covered with branches.

However, during cross-examination, Chmielewski contradicted himself several times, casting doubt on his statements that he had not intended to kill. For instance, no preparations whatever had been made for the case that Popieluszko should be detained inside a bunker, and no food or blankets had been provided.

The court today banned the stenographer of the lawyers who appear as joint plaintiffs on behalf of the Popieluszko family. The presiding judge accused her of producing a second protocol instead of just taking notes. Only the court's official clerk was admitted. Also, the lawyers are not permitted to use tape-recorders and now have to make their own notes. However, they are allowed to look at the court's protocol.

Piotrowski on Motive, Events

LD082257 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Here is a report from the trial in the case of the kidnapping and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko:

The court began its session as usual at 0900. Grzegorz Piotrowski continued to give his statement, giving at the outset his view on the statements contained in the act of indictment.

[Begin Piotrowski recording] In the act of indictment there is a clear statement that hatred for Popieluszko grew within Piotrowski. There is also another statement: Piotrowski was ready to undertake all kinds of violent actions against Popieluszko. I would like to state that I have never used such words and that I do not think I used other words which would justify this type of statement. Further, regarding motives, it is stated on page 30 of the act of indictment, I quote: Piotrowski suggests that he acted out of political motives. End of quote. On page 31, I also quote: Piotrowski thinks he did not commit an act of political provocation but that he acted in the interest of the state.

Your Honor, I would like to emphatically stress that I never used a statement or [words indistinct] political motives, and I do not think I said that I acted in the interest of the state and did not think I had committed a political provocation. My political assessment of the event is unequivocal and it appeared very quickly after the event. There is no question that my deed, although not intended this way, became an act of political provocation.

So much for the act of indictment, although I would like to pause, Your Honor, over these statements, develop them, and explain my real attitude to Jerzy Popieluszko.

It is said there was hatred, frustration; perhaps there were some temporary frustrations, but never hatred. What was my attitude like, what were the origins of the whole problem? Well, my attitude toward Jerzy Popieluszko as a human being, was, in fact, indifferent. I would even call it officially cool. My attitude toward Jerzy Popieluszko, Your Honor, was in principle of no interest to me. I shall say in a moment why. I was aware that what Jerzy Popieluszko was doing for the last 2 years in some sense exceeded his capabilities, his perceptions. He was once a normal, ordinary, and average priest. At some point he found himself under the influence of people who viewed him as a tool. As far as the activity of citizen Popieluszko is concerned, and not priest Popieluszko, concrete tasks were placed before me, mainly in coordination with the activities of the Warsaw Internal Affairs Office, and also in direct help for the office. I would like to list four sets of such operations which were of interest to me.

The first set of tasks was uncovering and counteracting the influence of Western centers of ideological subversion on Jerzy Popieluszko, determining his contacts with Western embassies, in order to find methods used on him by Western special services, special services of NATO states. There were many such examples. I do not wish to deal with this at the moment; we can always come back to it.

The second set was the issue of uncovering and counteracting the formation, with the participation of Jerzy Popieluszko, of an underground network of education. Jerzy Popieluszko once called it a framework for future social upsurge. It was not his idea; it was the idea of Professor Szaniawski, and editor Bratkowski, in any case Jerzy Popieluszko [words indistinct].

The third set, as I would call it, was counteracting attempts by Jerzy Popieluszko to integrate underground structures at large industrial centers in Poland. His itinerary across Poland in recent months was not accidental: Katowice, Bydgoszcz, Stalowa Wola, and a number of other towns.

The last set, which concerns priest Popieluszko, was the matter of documenting his violations of existing laws in Poland, mainly in abusing the pulpit for nonreligious purposes. Only in this aspect is Jerzy Popieluszko of interest to me, citizen Popieluszko and priest Popieluszko. For me there was only the question of his observing the law.

I have to admit before the esteemed court that when I saw that all the possible and available forms and methods of work had failed; when the Warsaw curia was shown evidence of the extra-religious activity of Father Jerzy Popieluszko and this evidence evoked no reaction or sham reaction; when, at a joint commission, this subject essentially met with complete indifference on the part of the church; and when, finally, esteemed court, I realized that the scholarship mentioned yesterday was simply fictional -- for the simple reason that Jerzy Popieluszko stated that if the primate comes and asks him, then he'd go -- when all these matters had accumulated, I must admit that I decided, or simply agreed, to undertake illegal action. In any case, it seemed to me that there are times when a lesser evil is necessary to avert a greater evil. I do not say I have been without fault throughout my life or that I have lived with the lawbook in my pocket all the time. That isn't the case. But I am convinced of one thing: Pekala and Chmielewski, who are sitting in the dock with me here today, and I would never have been in the dock if the law had also been applied to Jerzy Popieluszko. As early as May 1983 we gained the opportunity to combat Jerzy Popieluszko's illegal activity with regard to his participation in and development of a network of illegal printing shops and distribution of illegal publications. There was specific information, there was a chance of ... if I can put it this way...catching Jerzy Popieluszko red-handed, probably with a ton of illegal publications. My plan regarding this matter was passed on to a surprisingly high level, for it was the minister of internal affairs who had to make a decision on it, and the minister of internal affairs' decision was negative. No, no searches, no legal proceedings. Well this was a blow, since that was what the superiors were demanding.

In December 1983 the well-known situation was manifested again, as a result of which Jerzy Popieluszko spent a night under arrest. After this he was released at the request of the church, and specific guarantees were given that Jerzy Popieluszko would be transferred and that someone would keep an eye on him and so on. The leadership of the Warsaw curia showed here, I think, far-reaching naivety in assuming ridiculous statements by Jerzy Popieluszko to be true: that he was given the apartment by his aunt, even though there is proof that he simply bought it through an advertisement in the press; that the materials were planted by the security service, even though there was a prosecutor and witnesses present [at the search of the apartment].

Anyway, there were the facts and I must say I felt a kind of impotence; there was nothing that could be done. A reflection emerged: How are things really like with this so-called law and the rule of law in Poland? [end recording]

[Reporter] Next he described the events. In September last year a conversation was held at Adam Pietruszka's apartment with the participation of Grzegorz Piotrowski and Leszek W. from the Warsaw Internal Affairs Office, who presented the postamnesty activity of priests Popieluszko and Malkowski. This is how Piotrowski presented the end of the conversation:

[Begin Piotrowski recording] Adam Pietruszka stated: Enough of this lark with Popieluszko and Malkowski, we are taking resolute action. It is necessary to shake them up so much that it might cause a coronary. Simply, it is necessary to give final warnings.

There was some consternation. Adam Pietruszka established the order of these activities in regard to these persons; namely he chose priest Malkowski as the first subject for this kind of action and at the same time gave a typical example. I do not know if I mentioned this during the investigation but I became aware of it later: an example of how this action was to look, how to understand it; that the best thing would be if somebody attacked Malkowski in a dark alley and gave him a solid beating, and ideally if after 2 minutes the militia found the perpetrator, a type of minor criminal. After a short exchange I said, more or less, that if we were to take this kind of action, I think we should reverse the order, knowing well the activity of these two gentlemen, Malkowski and Popieluszko, and their habits and connections. I stated that Father Malkowski was -- I used this expression, sorry to say -- an ordinary noise-maker, whereas Jerzy Popieluszko had strong links and was much more dangerous politically.

Also, I had substantiated that Malkowski was practically alone, but that Jerzy Popieluszko was constantly surrounded by some kind of physical protection. He also maintained then that if we in some way annoyed Malkowski, then Jerzy Popieluszko would strengthen his protection, and would become for us untouchable where this type of action was concerned.

For a moment, I considered how such an action could be undertaken. I had analyzed the state of the department, and I had concluded that it was a relatively dangerous task, demanding physical proficiency. I decided that this type of action [words indistinct] state of my department, could only be carried out with Waldemar Chmielewski and Leszek Pakala, due to their physical suitability, and also due to the fact that they were workers whom I greatly trusted. They were good workers.

Perhaps on the same or next day, I asked them to stay after 1600 because I wished to talk to them. I briefly presented what it was all about. I made my final decision subject to their agreement. I declared: Consider and think; there is no obligation. If any of you back out, then I will not hold it against you. In any case, both of them agreed to take part in the operation. Then the question arose of how to do it. I presented the nature of the plans to them. I said these would be special actions which were not practiced every day at the ministry, or not at all. We would have to use physical force, or certainly some pressure on the man.

When the defendants expressed agreement, I said: Listen, now we must decide how to do it. I think it can be done only by kidnapping. [end recording]

[Reporter] Here were the actions anticipated by the defendant, Grzegorz Piotrowski, for the kidnapping of Father Jerzy Popieluszko to be successful.

[Begin Piotrowski recording] I saw two plans. First, we would not appear as functionaries. Second, it was our hope that Jerzy Popieluszko would not suffer any injuries from the kidnapping -- simply that he would disappear for a day. We did not expect such a drastic result.

The first plan -- I would not like to talk at length here -- was based on the convention of the revenge of the jealous husband. I had at my disposal knowledge which, if used properly during a talk and recorded on a cassette tape, could lead to Jerzy Popieluszko believing that this really was revenge out of jealousy. Secondly, I assumed that (?by making) a recorded cassette, I would be able to use it in the future to exert pressure on Jerzy Popieluszko to bring him to end this activity after all.

The second plan, esteemed court, also assumed -- flying foreign colors, if I can put it that way -- that Jerzy Popieluszko would not reveal what had happened, that he would simply wish to make light of it, and this plan was connected with the following event. I was basically inclined toward this second plan.

Perhaps I can return to the first one -- to the second one, that is. The matter of Waldemar Chrostowski. Both these plans -- the second and the one I will talk about in a moment -- assumed that Chrostowski would lose credibility in Popieluszko's eyes: Waldemar Chrostowski had the use of the keys to Jerzy Popieluszko's apartment, and Jerzy Popieluszko would lose trust in him after various objects disappeared from his home from time to time -- items from the West, petty currency. These two plans, and the third one I will talk about in a moment, assumed that Chrostowski, to whom in essence nothing would happen and who would be found suddenly by someone, in the morning, next to a tree or the road, easy to see, would ultimately lose credibility in the eyes of Jerzy Popieluszko. He was to have played a part in this. This third plan was the one that suited me best. I saw it as the only feasible one -- to be carried out with a tape recorder in my pocket.

Esteemed court: Shortly before the introduction of martial law, or perhaps just afterward, a sum of about Z65 million was deposited with Jerzy Popieluszko, as a deposit of the funds of the former Solidarity, Mazowsze region.

This sum, esteemed court, was disbursed for a short time, a very short time, by Jerzy Popieluszko, after which it disappeared somewhere, but the fact is that this money, the specific sums disbursed, the receipts, and the money that returned, always passed through the hands of Jerzy Popieluszko. We had in our possession two receipts with Zbigniew Bujak's signature. Criminologists' examinations showed these to be forged receipts. Taking the matter as a whole, calculations made about 6 months ago led us to realize that about Z4.7 million was missing. Some information came direct to me which no one dared to mention out loud -- for obvious reasons as far as (?the people around) Jerzy Popieluszko -- that this sum had disappeared in mysterious circumstances. It was suspected that one of these receipts was the work of Jerzy Popieluszko. If I had found myself in the Kampinos forest with Father Jerzy Popieluszko tied up, my first question would have been short and sweet: Reverend Father, let's talk about that missing money. Esteemed court, I also had at my disposal knowledge -- specific knowledge -- which would have made it clear and credible to him that we were people from the underground. Esteemed court: this alternative plan assumed that Jerzy Popieluszko would only spend one night, possibly a morning as well, in the Kampinos forest. [end recording]

[Reporter] One of the elements of the activities undertaken before 13 October was the so-called conspiracy of conspiracy, as defined by Adam Pietruszka, according to Piotrowski. The idea was to cover up the illegal activities of the Piotrowski group by routine and legal actions of the metropolitan office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The head of the department of the metropolitan office was not aware of these illegal actions, for, as Grzegorz Piotrowski stated, he was not told about them.

While describing this, Piotrowski also quoted Pietruszka's remark: We must give him a shock. He meant here Father Popieluszko. Speaking of the preparations, he stated that the objects required for the abduction were chosen and bought by Pekala and Chmielewski. He simply suggested that they do this.

Piotrowski described the relations between himself, Pekala, and Chmielewski. He stressed that there was complete cooperation between them during all the events, and only in certain situations did he give orders.

Speaking of Pietruszka, he stated that he had not received any orders from him, and that they had simply made decisions jointly. There were times when Grzegorz Piotrowski had doubts during the preparatory stage.

[Begin recording] [Piotrowski] On Friday, 12 October, I voiced a certain doubt regarding the safety of the whole operation. Adam Pietruszka expressed an opinion from which it clearly followed that it was purposeless to speak of safety. I would like to stress before the esteemed court [words indistinct] the talk about the high-up [words indistinct] the agreement at the highest level. I simply see that throughout the ordeal, as things unfolded right up to the end, I did not have any palpable [word indistinct] proof that there was such a highest level. All those statements were very suggestive, certainly, but I am not such a fool as to believe anything. But the manner in which they were made was unambiguous. And yet unfortunately -- or perhaps it is better, surely, that there was no highest level.

[Unidentified questioner] Namely, the highest level was Adam Pietruszka?

[Piotrowski] We know this today; but at the time there were such illusions. [end recording]

[Reporter] Piotrowski then discussed the details of the preparations for the action on 13 October. His statements tally with what was said earlier by Pekala and Chmielewski. Certain inaccuracies were due to the fact that there were some things Piotrowski did not remember. One new piece of information was the description of one of the events of that day. Piotrowski stated that he had deliberately thrown the stone above the car in which Father Popieluszko was traveling because he knew what the danger of hitting it would be. However, he went through the motions, so as not to -- as he put it -- lose the confidence of his subordinates, who might think he wanted to withdraw from the action. He also stated that they made so many errors because they were not professionals.

Describing the events of 19 October, Piotrowski admitted to having hit Father Popieluszko with a club several times, after he had been stopped by the road (?from) Bydgoszcz and at the parking lot of the Kosmos Hotel in Torun. Piotrowski's account took him to a description of the events next to the CPN [gasoline] station in Torun.

[Begin Piotrowski recording] Concerning the events after we left the last stopping place, as it arises from the dossier I want to avail myself of the right to refuse explanations. I also want to tell briefly why I have decided to do so.

First, because I want to avoid some kind of polemics here, such as it was not me, it was a colleague. I have a great moral indebtedness toward Leszek Pekala and Waldek Chmielewski which cannot be repaid. During the investigation, when I was asked to take part in visits to the scene of the crime, I said that I could not go through it for the second time. One time was too much. And I asked to be released from that, while making it clear that if it were absolutely necessary I would take part. Anyhow, in the investigation I could hardly give descriptions. What happened was horrifying, and that is why I simply want it to stay as it is in the dossier. I confirm what I said in the investigation, and as for the last part (?of events), I want to avail myself of my right. I only want to point out, esteemed court, that the fact that I twice made Jerzy Popieluszko unconscious remains on my consciousness.

After the evidence given by Waldemar Chmielewski I have to say that I began to doubt whether I had recorded all the events. Simply, Chmielewski's evidence seems credible to me. However, I have to maintain what I have said, that only these two facts remain on my consciousness.

[Questioner] In Gorsk and Torun?

[Piotrowski] Yes. Secondly, I want to state that apart from first binding Jerzy Popieluszko's hands, not once did I bind any part of his body. Also, I did not touch him in order to overpower him or to gag him.

But with the esteemed court's permission, I want to add that any . . . inflicted on Father Popieluszko was not a beating for a beating's sake. Popieluszko would not have received a single blow if everything had gone according to plan. And this, esteemed court, is everything I wish to say about events up to the moment when the car set off in the direction of Wloclawek from the last stop.

With the esteemed court's permission I would like to complete my evidence tomorrow.
[end recording]

The session ended after 1600. The court adjourned the hearing until 0900 tomorrow.

WARSAW VIEWS U.S.-SOVIET ARMS TALKS IN GENEVA

LD082009 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Krzysztof Wojna report from Geneva]

[Text] The U.S.-Soviet talks should have ended at midday, but it was decided to meet once again in the afternoon. This additional round of talks, recognized as proof that the exchange of views is of an intensive and matter of fact character, is still not finished at 1800.

The talks have been surrounded by such a tight, secret atmosphere that even the slightest leaks have not occurred. It is not known whether one should count on the previously announced press conference of George Shultz or whether a short communique will only be announced. Not entering into speculation, one can only state -- and this opinion dominates -- that as a result of the talks further contacts are forecast; and after all, this is treated as a positive result. No one expected that this meeting, the first after a long break, would bring anything more. One should add that the forecast of further contacts, if the backstage speculations prove correct, does not at all mean that rapprochement of the positions of both sides was reached. The U.S. policy of accelerated armament and the concept of the militarization of space are still fundamentally contrary to the policy of the Soviet Union.

URBAN REMARKS ON U.S. POLICY, DOMESTIC EVENTS

LD082008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Report on 8 January news conference by Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban in Warsaw; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] As announced, we now present a report from a news conference held by Minister Jerzy Urban for foreign journalists.

At the beginning of the conference the government press spokesman conveyed a statement concerning the situation existing in the Holy Trinity Church in Clairton, Pennsylvania.

[Urban] "Polish public opinion has been observing with disapproval the brutal repression by American police of priests and faithful at the Holy Trinity Church in Clairton, Pennsylvania. The only offense committed by the priests and faithful has been to support the operation to aid several thousand unemployed steelworkers and to point out the authorities' indifference to their fate.

"The church has been closed by a bishop, and parish priest (Roth) has been removed from his post. Parish priest (Roth) and other priests have been arrested, handcuffed, and put in prison. Citing reasons for the action, the U.S. authorities said that he used the church and his religion for social objectives, while the church is a place where only religious objectives can be preached.

"The court sentenced the parish priest to 3 months in detention for using the church for political objectives and for causing a public disturbance, despite the fact that the priest, on the contrary, did not call for a strike or demonstrations.

"Parish priest (Roth) received another sentence for delivering sermons to the faithful from prison.

"American authorities declared that they will hold the priest in prison as long as he insists on conducting social activity for the benefit of workers. The bishop declared that the use of the church and religion for pointing out social and economic ills in the United States cannot be tolerated. He agreed with the court's sentence and added that activity for the benefit of unemployed is incompatible with the role of the ecclesiastic in society.

"These events demonstrate brutal violation of religious freedoms and human rights in the United States.

"Steps taken by the American authorities and the bishop are unacceptable to the public in Poland, where there is no unemployment and where there are ample state funds to ensure workers a chance to change professional qualifications before they have to change their type of work.

"The Polish Government expresses full understanding for the indignation of the Polish public."

Next Jerzy Urban denied the false reports appearing in the Western press about the former Solidarity activist Ryszard Kalinowski.

[Urban] "PAP reports that all Western press agencies reported on Kalinowski's departure for Norway and his application for political asylum. AFP claims Kalinowski was afraid of being arrested in Poland for his activity in the former Solidarity organization and that he emigrated when he found out that a case was being prepared against him. This agency further says that Kalinowski was without work since May and that he considered he had no chance of employment as a car mechanic. REUTER reported that Kalinowski escaped to Sweden by boat with wife and daughter. Here is a factual report:

"Ryszard Kalinowski, from Elblag and an activist of Elblag Solidarity, was deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Commission in the former Solidarity organization. On 19 March 1982 he applied for work in a factory where he worked before he was briefly interned; that is, he reported for work at the Elblag industrial construction enterprise."

"There he was reemployed and worked until 31 May 1984. In April 1984 management gave him a notice of elimination of his current working and pay conditions. This was not a notice to leave the job but a proposal to change the employment and pay conditions. He did not accept the proposed conditions and on 31 May his contract was terminated because of his refusal.

"The reason for the notice of a change in pay and employment conditions was the fact that he spent most of his time on sick leave and holidays. To be specific, from March until the end of 1982 he worked 70 days. In 1983 he worked only 99 days, and in 1984 he worked 43 days. Kalinowski appealed his employers' decision to the regional appeals commission.

"Next the case was examined by the regional labor and social security court. As a result of these appeals, on 20 July 1984 the regional appeals commission in Elblag returned to him the right to work under previous conditions, but Kalinowski did not report for work and had not looked for work since being given the notice. This is the reply to the reports of horrible persecutions at work to which he was allegedly subjected. On 20 August 1984 Kalinowski applied to emigrate to Norway and he quickly received a passport for himself and his family, so he did not have to cross the Baltic on some kind of a small boat. On the other hand, he had to wait for nearly 16 months for a Norwegian visa, which was granted to him on 3 December 1984, and on 20 December he left from Swinemunde for Ystad, by ferry, taking his car with him. He was not arrested after his release from internment and nobody had any intentions of arresting him. There was no investigation into his case and no intention to start such an investigation because Kalinowski did not conduct any illegal activity."

There were a few questions about the trial in Torun in the case of the kidnapping and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko. Among others, a question was asked if in the opinion of the government, the plot against the life of Father Popieluszko was really limited to the four accused. Jerzy Urban said that the government is awaiting the results of the trial in order to draw any conclusions of a political or service nature.

Answering the question of whether the government considered the earlier cases, such as the automobile accident of former Solidarity activist Bartoszcze, as provocations, Jerzy Urban replied that he has no right to think so because:

[Urban in midsentence] "the investigation in the case of Bartoszcze demonstrated that this was a normal, if one can say so, car accident which occurred under the influence of alcohol, and the death was the result of drunkenness. There were no traces of any kind of deliberate action by anyone with any kind of intention.

"Finding explosives in Father Popieluszko's flat is also a fact and there are no reasons to doubt it. I shall remind you that explosives were found in Father Popieluszko's flat, the second flat. He normally lived at his church. The church authorities did not know about his second flat. This was the flat in which he did not appear as a priest; he was registered as a teacher. He did not appear there wearing his clerical garb, but was wearing civilian clothing. These cannot be described as circumstances which can be created by some person other than the owner of the flat himself.

"Among other things, it is for these and other reasons that there is no cause to see some kind of provocative intention in the results of the search of Father Popieluszko's flat."

U.S. Statement Criticized

LD082037 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Minister Jerzy Urban met with domestic and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS center. Among other things, he referred to the Voice of America report on the meeting with Deputy Under Secretary of State Palmer, which was devoted, among other things, to U.S. policy toward Poland. Today's interview with the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Stanislaw Dlugosz, published in RZECZPOSPOLITA, refers to the same topic.

[Begin Urban recording] I would like to add that Palmer's statements create the impression that he does not follow very carefully what the U.S. President is saying because Palmer questions the fact that American restrictions harmed Poland. He questions this without proof and ignores all our data and calculations. The impression that Palmer does not follow carefully what his chief is saying transpires from the fact that while defending his policy of restrictions against Poland, the U.S. President has said more than once that the restrictions brought painful losses to the Polish state, and after a long time he also agreed that they affected the Polish public. Thus, in a way I must defend the view of President Reagan which is being undermined by his officials.

In connection with Palmer's statement, I would like to add that he announced that the U.S. Government will continue to perform the role, as it were, of the Polish parliament, and will be assessing the domestic actions of the Polish Government.

We have expressed our attitude on this on numerous occasions, and this statement shows that the United States is deaf to our comments that this type of arrogance cannot constitute a good foundation for mutual relations and should be abandoned.

JARUZELSKI, USSR'S KULIKOV DISCUSS PACT DEFENSE

LD081845 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Today Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Viktor Kulikov, supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces and marshal of the Soviet Union, who is paying a short visit to Poland, along with Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces.

During the meeting views were exchanged regarding the military and political situation and directions were discussed for further improving combat capability and deepening cooperation between the allied defense forces of the socialist community. Army General Florian Siwicki, candidate member of the Politburo and minister of national defense, and General Jozef Uzycki, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, took part in the talks. The meeting was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

FOOD PRICE PROPOSALS RAISE QUESTIONS AMONG PUBLIC

LD082228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Tuesday was the second day of consultations on the proposal to increase food prices and limit rationing.

It appears from the opinions received so far that there are some characteristic phenomena in these first moments of the public exchange of views. A significant majority of people do not exactly express one opinion or another, but pose questions concerning both the essence of the published suggestions and the broader socioeconomic issues. Therefore the first days confirm that the debate on the issue of prices and compensations will certainly include broader reference to the principles of welfare policy, good management, the phenomenon of waste, or the appropriate relationship among work, pay, and price.

TRADE PROTOROL SIGNED WITH BULGARIA 8 JANUARY

LD090257 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] The 22d session of the Polish-Bulgarian Committee for Economic Cooperation has started in Warsaw. The committee will assess the present state and prospects of development of Polish-Bulgarian economic relations. It will also discuss Polish-Bulgarian trade relations, scientific and technological cooperation, construction services, and tourism. A trade protocol on the supply of goods and on payments for 1985 was signed today by the two countries.

BRIEFS

TRUCK AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH PRC -- The Polmot company today signed a contract with China's National Machinery Import and Export Corporation for delivery to China of more than 6,000 trucks, among them 5,000 Star trucks and 1,100 Jelcz trucks. This is Polmot's biggest contract for the delivery of trucks to one country in terms of value and quantity. The talks that led to the signing of this contract were a continuation of particularly intensive economic contacts between Poland and China in the automotive sector during the last year. Representatives of Polish production plants are still in China, and Chinese specialists remain in our factories. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Jan 85 LD]

LEADERS CELEBRATE ELENA CEAUSESCU'S BIRTHDAY

AU071514 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 7 Jan 85

[Text] At a festive meeting held this morning in Predeal resort, Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, member of the Permanent Bureau of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, was feted on the occasion of her birthday and on her long-standing revolutionary activity.

Along with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the festivity was attended by comrades Constantin Dascalescu, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Ion Dinca, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovic Fazekas, Manea Manescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Stefan Andrei, Stefan Birlea, Nicu Ceausescu, Gheorghe David, Petry Enache, Nicolae Giosan, Suzana Gidea, Ana Muresan, Marin Nedelcu, Tudor Postelnicu, Ion Radu, Ion Stoian, Ioan Totu, Ion Ursu, Silviu Curticeanu, and Constantin Radu.

In an atmosphere of solemnity, Comrade Elena Ceausescu was presented with a letter of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee of the State Council, and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister.

The solemn celebration was permeated by the high appreciation which the party and the people show towards the rich and tireless activity carried out by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, a front ranking militant of our party and state, a brilliant scientist and prominent scholar in the international arena, and towards the deep revolutionary spirit and high competence with which she is working to implement the overall domestic and foreign policy of our party and state.

On this occasion again, high homage was paid to the work full of revolutionary enthusiasm carried out by Comrade Elena Ceausescu within the leadership of our party and government and in the functions of high responsibility entrusted to her by the party and people and to her brilliant contribution to the great work of socialist construction in Romania, the triumph of justice and freedom, the cause of independence and sovereignty of our homeland, and the people's well-being and happiness.

The festivity represented telling proof of the feelings of deep esteem and great appreciation all the citizens of our homeland have for Comrade Elena Ceausescu, for her active participation, together with the leader of our party and state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the fulfillment of the great work of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's progress toward communism.

Comrade Elena Ceausescu's highly competent work full of self-denial that has yielded brilliant results in the field of scientific research, and the fruitfulness of her efforts in developing science, education, and culture in Romania was reasserted. At the same time, stress was laid on the broad international appreciation of this goal and multifaceted activity devoted to the continuous progress and prosperity of our socialist homeland and to linking science to the needs and aspirations of society, to the cause of peace and international cooperation, and to building a better and more just world.

Inspired by these elevating thoughts and feelings of all our party and people, the comrades of the party and state leadership participating in the festivity congratulated Comrade Elena Ceausescu with high esteem and expressed their most vivid and profound affection and wished for her a long life, much health, vigour in her work and new and ever greater successes in all her activity.

CONSPIRACY TRIAL CONTINUES IN BELGRADE

LD081616 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jan (TANJUG) -- The testimony of witness Ivan Stanisic was heard today in Belgrade District Court when the trial resumed of six people charged with conspiracy to engage in hostile activity.

The witness testified that he had attended two "open university" meetings. One of these meetings was in the apartment of defendant Miodrag Milic. The witness recalled that a girl was reading a text on the current economic and political situation in Yugoslavia. As regards the other meeting, in the apartment of defendant Dragomir Olujic, the witness remembered that the year 1968 had been discussed and that the first defendant, Vladimir Mijanovic, had talked about what had been happening near the underpass in Novi Beograd.

With several questions posed to this witness, the defense tried to trot out the argument that his testimony was allegedly influenced by his membership in the LC. Judge Zoran Stojkovic rejected these questions as impermissible. The defense also did its best to suggest that pressure had allegedly been brought to bear on the witness during the investigation. In connection with this defense "argument" based solely on the statement made by the witness that "he felt uneasy during his investigation interview," one must make the observation: Can the interview with the witnesses during any investigation process be called "easy," especially if the investigation is concerned with hostile activity? The defense insisted on this "uneasiness" without even considering the statement made by the witness that it had had no influence whatever on his testimony.

The hearing today began after some delay because several defense councils were late. During the hearing, there was time to hear only one witness because the defense, as they habitually do, submitted several proposals which the bench rejected as unfounded.

The trial will resume tomorrow.

FEC VICE PRESIDENT ON POLITICAL SYSTEM CHANGES

AU082014 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 84, 2 Jan 85 p 7

[Interview granted by Prof Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, to Biserka Matic -- place and date not given, first paragraph is newspaper introduction]

[Excerpts] Professor Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, is one of the excellent connoisseurs of our political system and constitutional law. It is, therefore, logical that we started the conversation about these topics by recalling the current dilemma: to change or not to change the political system?

[Sukovic] The dilemma for or against changes in the political system is not real but invented. The nature of our political system demands that it change constantly through development and perfection in the direction established by constitutional principles while preserving its basic values.

[Matic] There are, however, different opinions as well. There are, in fact, those people who condemn changes and even contend that changes represent the destruction of the political system.

[Sukovic] Advocating that nothing be changed in our political system is dogmatism, not defense of the system. To replace with better solutions those solutions of the system whose basic systemic orientations are not specified in a way which makes the political system efficacious in existing and imminent social conditions while at the same time preserving the basic values and direction of the system is to defend the political system, not to destroy it. There can be dilemmas only when answering the question about what, specifically, is to be changed, and especially how to change the solutions that should be changed. In conformity with these social needs, the changes of individual solutions in the political system have already started and are under way.

[Matic] However, changes in the political system are increasingly linked with the Constitution which, allegedly, presents a hindrance to their becoming a reality.

[Sukovic] The hindrance to real changes does not lie in the Constitution as much as in one-sided and therefore erroneous individual and collective interpretations of certain constitutional solutions, which appeared gradually during the past decade and are still maintained to a great extent. What is involved are interpretations which, and I am not exaggerating, distorted certain constitutional contents and intentions.

[Matic] What interpretations do you mean specifically?

[Sukovic] Unitarianism and socialist togetherness are identified with one another by interpretations of the SFRY Constitution that were created through isolated rendition of its individual regulations and not by the Constitution itself. The influence of such interpretations managed in part to incorporate into some of our federal and political practice which had led to a decrease of the constitutionally established competences of the federation and its being deprived of a part of the constitutional power to ensure -- by the force of common interests and the force of the whole -- a congruous and efficient functioning of the system, and the implementation of policy, laws, and other regulations that its organs adopt. This is now erroneously presented as a constitutional directive, a constitutional prescription, and it is not. On the other hand, through the adoption of interpretations with this tendency, the constitutionally established autonomy, limited by constitutional unity, of other sociopolitical communities has been transformed into their special independence.

[Matic] To what extent is the contention that the Constitution determines autarchy true?

[Sukovic] It is contrary to truth that the SFRY Constitution adopted in 1974 determines, inevitably produces autarchy, encapsulation, autonomy to the extent that autonomy is transformed into independence from the whole. Unity, which implies and ensures equality of both rights and obligations, and the constitutionally determined autonomy are an inseparable whole in the SFRY Constitution. One can, perhaps, say that the Constitution fails explicitly to erect sufficiently high and strong barriers to autarchy.

BORBA ATTACKS 'LEGALIZATION' OF OPPOSITION

AU082147 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29-30 Dec 84 p 2

[Hrvoje Istuk article: "'Platform' of Well-Known Cliches"]

[Excerpts] The LC has for a long time accepted criticism as a moving force in the implementation of its revolutionary function. However, a different type of criticism has been increasingly evident recently and one may say that it is claiming legitimacy. It endeavors to impose on the LC, and to conduct with it, a dialogue as if between partners, proceeding from the only visible platform at present, which basically consists in disputing the further revolutionary role of the LC.

Of course, such a dialogue -- if one can at all speak about a dialogue, what with very conceited authoritativeness, alleged intellectual superiority, and ordering about by those who try to impose it -- does not contribute in any of its variations or intentions to making the LC more capable of carrying out its tasks, nor to an advancement of democratic social criticism or to a democratic social climate.

To close one's eyes to the increasingly frequent waves of such "critical dialogue" may mean that we, as the LC, actually accept it, and it sometimes does not seem important at all whether the one who exerts criticism in such a way is a LC member or whether it is a matter of individuals who have parted with the LC or who never showed any sympathies for it. There is even an inclination among some communists to justify the attempts to institutionalize such criticism with the argument that criticism is necessary considering that we have a "one-party system," and thus according to them it is allegedly necessary that in such a way criticism "from outside" be ensured, which in essence constitutes a legalization of the opposition, which would only formally fail to be an opposition. In this connection, the fact is completely ignored that the LC has long decided that, except for key achievements and the goals of the revolution, every constructive dialogue and every opening of a constructive discussion is not only desirable but also necessary for an advancement of the socialist self-managing society. Wide opportunities of a democratic dialogue and well-argued criticism exist within the system of socialist democracy, including criticism of the system. However, the criticism "from outside" does not wish to use these opportunities and this scope, probably because it would have to enter the dialogue with proper arguments which could withstand the test in comparison with the arguments confronting them. It seems that because such criticism does not possess any such arguments, and this can be concluded from its public utterances, it avoids a democratic confrontation of arguments and wants to act from outside.

Thus, a true dialogue as an exchange and confrontation of arguments is not sought, but direct attacks are made on the leadership with the simple calculation that depersonalized criticism at a generalized level, even when it refers to an LC organ, will have a destructive effect on the LC as a whole and on its leading role in society. With this method it is attempted to demonstrate that the LC is allegedly to be blamed for all the wrongs, that it is dedicated to the point of bureaucratic ossification, that it lacks ideological and theoretic-scientific freshness and spirit, and that it is even unnecessary to enter into any polemics with such an LC, but that one should simply totally disregard it.

The "opposition," if we call the criticism from "outside" which forms a special bloc by its proper name, has hardly ever provoked an ideological dispute about such a thing as denying the validity of a legal act or regulation, or questioning why such and such economic or technological innovation has not been introduced in our economic development, or something of the kind, but above all about so-called ideological questions, such as, for instance, whether there is a continuity between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the SFRY, how much was given by whom and how much received, whether we are going in a confederative direction, whether we put the first personality of our revolution in the historical context, may one or may one not change the Constitution, do Dedijer, Kopinic, and others tell the truth, and so on and so forth. This of course is not quite without importance for the LC, but those in opposition merely want a confrontation with the LC on these questions. When society, and not only the LC, undertake something against such activities, or when a communist as a citizen says something in the name of the defense of the achievements of the socialist revolution, it is all labeled Stalinism, dogmatism, Zhdanovism, and this is all ascribed at once to the LC or its organs who are only able to defend themselves, but not to stop the attacks.